

History of the Tammany Society

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SAINT TAMMANY, THE PATRON SAINT.

. . History . .

. . . of . . .

The Tammany Society

. . or . .

Columbian Order

From its Organization to the Present Time

. . By . .

E. Vale Blake

Published under the Direction of

Fred Feigl

Editor of The Tammany Times

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ANNOUNCEMENT.



N presenting this first volume of the History of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, to our readers, we desire to assure them that this is but the beginning of our work.

The records of this great Society, numbering as it does among its members the most illustrious men in the Democratic party, are of the greatest importance, and the work of completing and perpetuating them will be continued until they are as near perfect as may be.

Particular credit for this work is due to E. Vale Blake, who has gathered and compiled the material for the work and arranged the historical story of this the First Volume.

We desire to recognize the efforts of our friends in contributing to the success of this volume, notably, the Hon. Richard Croker, Grand Sachem Thomas L. Feitner, Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, Hon. William Sulzer, Mr. James Anderson Russell, Mr. Jon Templeton, as well as Mr. George G. Feigl, who has had charge of the arrangement of the biographical sketches of the members of the Society who are living at the present day.

Our thanks are specially due for documents, to the late Col. Thomas Dunlap and also to the Adjutant General of the State for statistical and other information regarding the Tammany troops in the War of Secession.

FRED. FEIGL.

PREFACE.

WHEN a Society or Institution has been in active operation for over a century it is pertinent to inquire wherein lies its vitality.

More particularly is this the case when it exists in a great city and is essentially a political organization—and is found to have survived all other early political organizations.

During the existence of the Society of Tammany, or the Columbian Order, a large number of these associations have sought the favor of the people, with varying success, most of them being but short-lived.

From its original antagonist, the old Federal party, down to the present day, the wrecks of defunct political organizations are scattered along the highway of history. Not only is this true of the large national parties which have opposed the Democracy, of which the Tammany Society is still the most prominent organization, such as the Federalist, the National-Republican, the Whig, the Native American and the present Republican; but in addition to these, which might be called its natural enemies, the Tammany Society has had constantly to contend with foes springing up in its own locality. There have been seasons of eclipse, too, when the star of Tammany was obscured; but, after a time, the clouds rolled by, and the old Wigwam again came

prominently into view, in full possession of apparently indestructible vitality.

In the course of these pages it will be demonstrated wherein lies the strength of this redoubtable organization.

It is true there are many persons so greatly under the influence of opposing partisan affiliation that they can scarcely be brought to believe that there is, or ever was any good thing in this powerful and most persistent of political organizations; a little reflection, however, will convince any candid mind that so considerable a body of citizens as the members of the Tammany organization could not be held under the fascinations of an altogether evil power for the space of a hundred years.

E. Vale Blake.



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CHAPTER I.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE FORMATION OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.



N May, 1783, the officers of the American Army, in cantonments, on the Hudson, under General Washington, having in view the eventual disbandment of the army after exchange of ratification of the definite Treaty of Peace, decided to form a society, to perpetuate as well the remembrance of the bloody conflict of eight years which had established the Colonies as free, independent and sovereign States, as the mutual friendships which had been formed under the pressure of common danger, and in many instances cemented by the blood of the parties.

They accordingly met at the Ver Planck Mansion, the Headquarters of Major-General Baron de Steuben, near Fishkill, N. Y., and formed themselves into a Society of Friends, and agreed to an Institution which they declared should endure as long as they or any of their eldest male posterity remained, and, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who should be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.

In this Institution they set forth that:

"The officers of the American Army having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus; and, being resolved to follow his example by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves

THE SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI."

The officers of the army were intensely patriotic, and they had undergone untold sufferings, privations and losses of property, in order to continue in the service of their country, and bring to a successful termination the war which secured the independence of the United States.

They keenly appreciated the fatal defects in the Articles of Confederation, which had not gone into effect until 1781, and under which independence had almost been lost; and, accordingly, in addition to provisions as to benevolence, they also incorporated a political principle for a firmer union between the States and the maintenance of the national honor, then imperilled through interfering State regulations as to commerce and the absolute worthlessness of the Continental currency.

In their Institution they said that

"The following principles shall be immutable and form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati:—

"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

"An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective States that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers: The spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."

The General Society, for the sake of frequent communications, was divided into State Societies, with local officers, wherein applications for membership were received and acted upon.

The Institution prescribed an order by which the members should be known and distinguished, which was the Bald American Eagle, with appropriate emblems, and the motto

"OMNIA RELIQUIT SERVARE REMPUBLICAM,"

and a ribbon by which it was suspended from the breast, of deep blue edged with white, typical of the then alliance between France and America.

In November, 1783, the Continental Army was formally disbanded, and the officers and soldiers again became private citizens.

Much opposition was manifested at first to the Society, because of its supposed aristocratic tendencies, which was in due time dissipated.

The American officers, in providing that the representative membership should descend through the eldest lineal male descendant, had merely followed the rule of primogeniture then prevailing throughout the United States, and probably with the idea that the eldest son, as heir to the estate of his father, would be better able to do his full share toward the benevolent objects of the Institution.

The members in the Thirteen States began at once to agitate for a more perfect union, and for the establishment of a national government under a constitution which would give peace and prosperity at home, and protection abroad.

The history of the period of four years from 1783 to 1787, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and from thence until the inauguration of the Government under it, in 1789, shows that the influence of the Society of the Cincinnati was most potential in effecting this great patriotic object.

When the Government of the United States under the Constitution was finally inaugurated, the General Society, in Triennial Meeting convened, and the several State Societies, in communications to General Washington, then President of the United States, declared that a good Constitution for their beloved country was what the officers had contended for, in the field and in council.

The political principle in the Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati having thereupon become engrafted, with sanctions, in the organic law for the United States, the *political* work of the Society of the Cincinnati came to an end, and thenceforth its members devoted themselves to their domestic concerns, and to celebrations of Independence Day, as required by the Institution, and to works of benevolence, in which, in the course of years, they expended very many thousands of dollars in relieving the necessities of deserving descendants of Revolutionary officers.

The political work of the Cincinnati having thus terminated, it ceased thenceforward to be a political factor, and, as its membership was restricted, it could not perform the functions of a great patriotic society to which *all* citizens should be eligible, and which should at all times have a potential influence in the direction of patriotism, and as a conservator of good government.

At this juncture, 1789, a citizen of the City of New York, William Mooney, conceived the idea of forming just such a great patriotic organization, and, having communicated his views to other citizens, who enthusiastically approved, "THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY," or, "COLUMBIAN ORDER," whose motto is "FREEDOM OUR ROCK," was established; and for many years, on Independence Day, passed the compliments of the day with the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, and each drank the health of the other.

A considerable number of the earlier members of the new patriotic Society were also original members of the Society of the Cincinnati.

The first meeting place of the infant Society of Tammany, which was organized May 12, 1789, was at Barden's, or the City Tavern, located on lower Broadway, not far from the Bowling Green. Here, for lack of a more commodious place, the new society met until 1798, when they obtained the use of Martling's long room; and this has generally been thought to have been the first wigwam. Mr. Abraham D. Martling kept what would now be called a hotel on the corner of Nassau and Spruce streets. His office, dining-room and kitchen were located at the front of the house, facing on Nassau street, while the famous Long Room was at the rear, running parallel with this street. This room afforded accommodation for either convivial parties or for public meetings, and many a fine political campaign was there inaugurated and carried through to success, before the followers of St. Tammany dreamed of erecting a building for their sole use. It was, however, little more than a dozen years later before the project was matured for erecting the ample building, of which the corner-stone was laid in 1811, near the site of Martling's old place, on the corner of Nassau and Frankfort streets, which was occupied by the Society until the erection of the present elegant and substantial building on Fourteenth street.

The meaning of the word wigwam, as is very generally supposed, is not a tent, but a communal house, such as many of the stationary tribes of our North American Indians built for the common home, and which were usually large enough to accommodate from forty to sixty families. Some large tribes had many wigwams.

In regard to the appellation of "Saint" to Chief Tammany, we believe John Trumbull, the artist, is to be credited with its bestowal, he thinking that the monarchial countries of Europe should not have a monopoly of the saints; but he alone was not of that mind; some early calendars published in Philadelphia give the first of May as the day of St. Tammany, naming him the patron Saint of America. There is also a St. Tammany parish in Louisiana, on the northern boundary of Lake Ponchartrain.

The Society of Tammany, or the Columbian Order, is nominally, and by the terms of its incorporation, a social, patriotic and charitable association, and is practically and really a distinct body from the General Committee of the Democratic party generally understood by the term "Tammany."

CHAPTER II.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF CHIEF TAMMANY.



HERE appears to have been two Saints Tammany—a legendary one and an historical one—or, rather, either the attributes of one real person have been magnified into the fabulous, or there had been an earlier Indian, with superior qualifications, living long before the chief known to history bearing the same name.

The historical Tammany, with whom William Penn had dealings, was chief of the Lenni-Lenape tribe of Indians; a native of Delaware, living in his old age near the Schuylkill River, and at the time of his death residing some four miles from the present site of Doylestown, in what is now Bucks County, Pennsylvania; his burial place being near a spring in that vicinity. He is believed to have been present at the interview with Penn under the great elm-tree at Shakamaxon, as all the chiefs of the Lenni-Lenape lineage were there, and so distinguished a member as Tammany could scarcely have been absent. His name, sometimes written Tammanend, with that of Melamequam, is signed to a contract giving title to a tract of land lying between Pennepack and Neshamony Creeks. This paper is dated April 23, 1683.

Penn's "great treaty," so called, through which he acquired title to nearly the whole of the present State of Pennsylvania, is dated more than two years later, in May, 1685, when Tammany probably was dead. His precise age is unknown, but it is certain that his life extended long past the extreme limit of even extraordinary old age. When spoken of by the people of his own or other Indian tribes, he was usually referred to as "Chief Tammany of many days." William Penn, in speaking of him, said: "I found him an old man, yet vigorous in mind and body, with high notions of liberty; not to be imposed upon, yet easily won by suavity and a peaceable address." At one time his wigwam is said to have stood on the site now occupied by Princeton College.

Chief Tammany was certainly friendly to the whites. He had the sagacity to perceive that the knowledge of the arts, of mechanics, and of a superior agriculture, was a power which gave to the new settlers immense advantages over his own people; thus he was led to favor peace with them, and he used his great influence to preserve the tranquillity of the Delaware nation. Fenimore Cooper, in his popular novel, "The Last of the Mohicans," introduces Chief Tammany in the scene in which he describes the death of Uncas, making Tammany say: "My day has been too long. In the morning I saw the sons of Unamies happy and strong; and yet, before the night has come, have I lived to see the last warrior of the wise race of the Mohicans."

The Tammany of tradition is a wonderful character; in the folk-lore of his people all good things are attributed to him. Before the time of De Soto or La Salle, or even the still earlier voyage claimed for Boehm, there was a Chief Tammany, whose tribe lived west of the Alleghany Mountains, and extended beyond the northern bank of the Ohio River. In early youth this chief was noted

as a skillful hunter and brave warrior; he was always ingenious in the production of domestic utensils, objects of decoration, and implements for the hunt, for snaring animals, and for use in war. As he grew to manhood his fame extended beyond the Mississippi River to the Great Salt Lake, and his noble deeds were talked of at every council-fire in the land. It was this very superiority which excited the envy and enmity of the Evil Spirit, with whom he had many fearful combats.

When this terrible enemy saw that Tammany was teaching his people how to cultivate corn and other edible vegetables and fruits, he determined to circumvent him and injure his reputation with the tribes over which he ruled with a firm but fatherly hand. So the Evil Spirit put his ingenuity to work and caused the land to produce poison sumach, and stinging nettles, which he hoped the tribes would attribute to Tammany. These plants did, indeed, much annoy and sometimes injure the hunters, but Tammany was wideawake and contemplated long how he could rid his land of these noxious growths. He bided his time; then at the period of drought he set fire to the prairies which they covered, and the fire was so hot and the heat waves chased each other so rapidly that they actually singed and nearly destroyed the Evil Spirit himself, who was spying round, mourning the destruction of his poisonous creations. After he had somewhat recovered from his injuries he plotted more mischief. He made snakes, which he sent among the people; but Tammany sowed the seed of the ash-tree, of the seneca-root and the plantain, which speedily cured those who were bitten

Next the Evil One sent a great drove of mammoths and other monstrous and destructive creatures from beyond the great lakes, to consume the corn and fruits of the Delawares. Again Tammany was relied upon to rid the land of this plague also. He soon found that their hides were too thick to be penetrated by arrows, and that some other means must be devised to destroy them. Now these animals were in the habit of going down to the "salt licks;" so Tammany caused many great pits to be dug, which he covered over with branches of trees and shrubs, completely concealing them, and so these destructive creatures were all caught and slain in these traps, and there it is said that their bones may still be found.

The Evil Spirit was now nearly at his wit's end how to devise some mischief which the great chief would be unable to overcome. At last he bethought himself to raise the waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan, and so flood all the southern land where the Delawares dwelt, but Tammany was not to be outdone in ingenuity. He set to work immediately and opened a way for the flooding waters, by turning them into the Miami, Wabash and Allegheny Rivers, and, in addition, cut new openings into the Ohio. The waters of the lakes receded, but formed on their exit the Detroit Rapids and the Falls of Niagara—which still remains as proof of the truth of this legend. Tammany was hailed as the savior of his people, as well he might be.

Finding that no natural objects could be successfully used against this noble chieftain, the Evil One next conceived the idea of raising up enemies against him by instilling enmity toward him among the tribes, his neighbors, dwelling to the east and north. A long war, indeed, followed, but Tammany took many prisoners, each one of whom expected death as a matter of course, this being the usual fate of prisoners of war, but Tammany was endowed with a superior spirit, and

when he heard his vanquished foes singing their sad "death-song," and saw them cutting themselves, according to the custom of their fathers, and thrusting splinters into their flesh, to show that they could bear pain bravely, he called them before him, addressed them kindly, spared their lives, and thus sent them back to their own tribes, devoted friends, instead of enemies.

The Wicked Spirit, perceiving all his labors lost, finally came to the conclusion that there was no other way to overcome this wonderful chief than by a personal encounter—never dreaming for a moment that any mortal being could successfully contend with the immortal enemy of the human race.

In pursuance of this intent he hid among the bushes in a certain place where he knew that the chief would pass by. But Tammany perceived this movement, and, pulling up a hickory sapling, commenced the struggle by attacking his skulking enemy, giving him a powerful blow on the head. Such a yell as burst from the surprised traitor not even a whole tribe of Indians could equal. Then the devil and Tammany clinched, and dreadful was the crashing of timber, which they trod down, as if it had been mere weeds. Never was such a fight on the earth since the war of the Old World giants, who piled mountains on one another in their quarrels in ancient Greece. For many square leagues not a tree was left standing, and some narrators affirm that it was through this encounter that the prairies were originally formed, by the trampling of these strange Western gladiators—the Mortal Good and the Immortal Evil—striving for supremacy.

The fight is reported to have continued for fifty days, when Tammany, by a hip-back action, succeeded in throwing his antagonist to the ground, trying at the same time to roll him into the Ohio River, but a great rock in the way prevented this; then he tried to strangle his nearly vanquished enemy, but his right wrist and thumb had been so strained with the long struggle that force sufficient failed him to accomplish this; and at last the great warrior grew faint and exhausted, which the Evil One, perceiving, managed to slip away—having no mind to renew the fight.

But Tammany was not quite through with him yet. He banished him from the country to Labrador and the Hudson Bay region; threatening him with instant death if he returned to the south of the Great Lakes. So at last Tammany had conquered a permanent peace, and he was now able to devote himself to the development of agriculture and such arts as were useful to his people. Then the tribe rejoiced in plenty, they felt strong, and their cry was always, "Tammany and Liberty," for he had won for them freedom from all kinds of injury and enmity.

About this time Manco Capac, the great Inca of Peru, the famous descendant of the Sun, heard of Tammany, and was naturally desirous of meeting such a wise chief and brave warrior; so he sent a messenger to ask for an interview, suggesting, as a suitable place, a certain location in Mexico, which was about equidistant from the home of each. The precise object which the Inca desired to consult Tammany about was the best form of government for Peru. The interview took place, and passed over very happily; and, with many mutual compliments, each returned to his own country, well pleased to have met.

As the Inca Manco Capac is considered by historians as the founder of the Peruvian nation, and lived about the year 1250 A. D., it is obvious that this legend of Chief Tammany's journey must have had a very ancient origin.

CHAPTER III.

TAMMANY'S GIFT OF SYMBOLS TO THE TRIBES.



FTER the chief's return from this long journey, which consumed several months, Tammany learned that the Evil Spirit had taken advantage of his absence and had entered among his people, and had made them idle and dissipated, and, with these faults, disease had broken out in the tribe. He began at once to reform this condition of things, and in great measure succeeded. In order to stimulate his people and arouse their flickering ambition, he summoned them all before him; and, feeling that his end was approaching, and that he could not much longer remain with them, he conceived the following plan for keeping them united, at the same time placing upon all special responsibilities. He divided the whole of his people into thirteen tribes, assigning separate duties to each, and giving also to each tribe a model, or symbol, to remind them of these duties as follows:

1st. With the symbol of the Eagle he gave to the first division this advice: "Children of the First Tribe, the Eagle should be your model. He soars above the clouds, loves the mountain tops, takes a broad survey of the country round, and his watchfulness in the day-time lets nothing escape him. From him learn to direct your thoughts to elevated objects, to rise superior to the fogs of prejudice and passion, to behold in the clear atmosphere of reason all things in their true light and posture, and never expose yourself to be surprised, while the sun shines, in a fit of drowsiness or slumber.

2d. "Children of the Second Tribe: The Tiger affords a useful lesson for you. The exceeding agility of this creature, the extraordinary quickness of his sight, and, above all, his discriminating power in the dark, teach you to be stirring and active in your respective callings, to look sharp to every engagement you enter into, and to let neither misty days nor stormy nights make you lose sight of the worthy object of your pursuit.

3d. "Children of the Third Tribe: You are to pay good attention to the qualities of the Deer. He possesses uncommon readiness of hearing; can judge of sounds at a great distance. In like manner, open ye your ears to whatever is passing; collect the substance of distant rumors, and learn, before dangers surround your cornfields and wigwams, what is going on at a distance.

4th. "Children of the Fourth Tribe: There is one quality of the Wolf to which I would call your attention. His wide extent of nostrils catches the atoms floating in the air, and gives him notice of the approach of his prey or his foe. Thus, when power grows rank, and, like a contagion, sends abroad its pestilent streams, I see, the wolf, like the myrmidons* of Tammany, the first to rouse, turn his head, and snuff oppression in every breeze.

5th. "Children of the Fifth Tribe: You, my children, are to take useful hints of the Buffalo. He is one of the strongest animals in the wilderness; but,

* Myrmidons were originally soldiers of Achilles.

strong as he is, he loves the company of his kind, and is not fond of venturing upon distant excursions alone. This is wise in the buffalo, and wise it will be in you to imitate him. Operate in concert, stand together, support one another, and you will be a mountain that nobody can move; fritter down your strength in divisions, become the sport of parties, let wigwam be divided against wigwam, and you will be an ant-hill which a small pappoose can kick over.

6th. "Children of the Sixth Tribe: That social and valuable creature the Dog offers something for you to profit by. The warmth of his attachment, the disinterestedness of his friendship, and the unchangefulness of his fidelity, mark him as the object of your kindness and imitation. Do but love each other with half the warmth, sincerity and steadiness with which these, your constant hunting companions, love you all, and happiness, comfort and joy will make your land their dwelling place, and ye shall experience all the pleasure that human nature can bear.

7th. "Children of the Seventh Tribe: You are to take pattern after the Beaver. His industry merits your regard. Forests must be cleared, hills leveled, rivers turned to accomplish your plans. Labor and perseverance overcome all things; for I have heard old people say that their ancestors assisted in making the sun, immense as he appears, by collecting into a heap all the fire-flies and glow-worms they could find, and the moon, whose light is fainter and size smaller, was in like manner formed by gathering into a pile all the fox-fire, or phosphoric decayed wood they could procure.

8th. "Children of the Eighth Tribe: The Squirrel, my children, offers something profitable to you. It is his practice as he has a foresight of winter, to collect acorns, chestnuts and walnuts, and to carry them in large quantities to his hole. In like manner it becomes you to look forward to the winter of life, and have some provision necessary for yourselves at that needy time. This you may enjoy at your firesides, while all around you frost rends the trees asunder, and the white powder lies so thick upon the ground that you cannot venture out without your snow-shoes.

9th. "Children of the Ninth Tribe: You are to learn a lesson from the Fox. He looks well before him as he travels, examines carefully the ground he treads upon, and takes good care that his enemies do not come upon him by surprise. Such keen examination will guard you from difficulties; and if, in the course of nature, you shall be, in spite of all this, beset by them, nothing will more effectually enable you to extricate yourselves.

10th. "Children of the Tenth Tribe: The Tortoise, who supports on his back the world we inhabit, offers a world of instruction to you. Were it not for his benevolence in keeping afloat on the immense ocean in which he swims, this land we inhabit would soon go to the bottom; and the displeasure he feels when men lead lives of idleness and vice, when they quarrel and injure their neighbors and families, has induced him more than once to dip a part of his shell under the water and drown a set of wretches no longer fit to live. If, then, you wish to attain a long life, be honest, upright and industrious.

11th. "Children of the Eleventh Tribe: I recommend to your attention the wholesome counsel derived by man from the Eel. He was never known to make a noise or disturbance in the world, nor to speak an ungentle sentence to a living

creature. Slander never proceeded from his mouth, nor doth guile rest under his tongue. Are you desirous, my children, of modest stillness and quiet? Would you like to live peaceably among men? If such be your desires, learn a lesson of wisdom from the Eel, who, although he knows neither his birth nor his parentage, but is cast an orphan of creation, yet shows, by his strength and numbers, the excellence of the mode of life he has chosen.

12th. "Children of the Twelfth Tribe: I shall point out for your improvement some excellent traits in the character of the Bear. He is distinguished for his patient endurance of those inconveniences which he finds it impossible to ward off. Thus, when scarcity threatens your country with famine, when disease among the beasts strews your hunting-grounds with carcasses, when insects destoy your beans, and worms corrode the roots of your corn, when the streams refuse their accustomed supplies, or when the clouds withhold their rain, bear with patience and resignation whatever necessity imposes upon you. Show yourselves men, for it is adversity which gives scope to your talents.

13th. "Children of the Thirteenth Tribe: I call your attention to the economy of the Bee. You observe among those creatures a discipline not surpassed by anything the woods afford. Idlers, vagrants and embezzlers of public property, have no toleration there. Regularity and method pervade every department of their government. Borrow from them an idea of arrangement in business, and, above all, derive from their instructive example that alchemy of mind, which, by an operation somewhat analogous to the production of nectar from venom, converts private feelings into public advantages, and makes even crimes and vices ultimately conducive to public good."

Having, in an eloquent speech, such as the Lenni-Lenapi Indians were renowned for, thus endeavored to distribute among his people these and other vritues, Tammany felt that his lifework was done; and, in fact, he was very soon after called to the happy hunting-grounds of his tribe, leaving behind him a reputation above that of any other of his race of whom we have any knowledge, as he was also more esteemed and beloved than any of his tribe before or since. He is said to have been buried in the large mound within the ancient Indian fort near Muskingum, O., which is nearly as large as the most famous of the Egyptian pyramids.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST OFFICERS OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY, AND ITS EARLY HISTORY.



RAND SACHEM—William Mooney.

Sachems—White Matlock, Phillip Hone, John Campbell, John Burger, Thomas Greenleaf, Cortlandt Van Beuren, Oliver Glenn, James Tylee, Gabriel Furman, Jonathan Pierce, Abel Hardenbrook, Joseph Goodwin.

Treasurer—Thomas Ash.

Sagamore—John Pintard.

The most active and habitual frequenters of the Wigwam while its meetings were held at "Martling's" are thus given (in Valentine's Manual of the City of New York): John Tryson, Wm. H. Ireland, John Targee, Benjamin Romain, Eldad Holmes, George Buckmaster, Abraham Valentine, Joseph Kimball, Abraham Stagg, John Moss, Abraham Dally, Dr. Prince, John B. Thorp, Augustus Wright, Lewis Ford, Clarkson Crolius, William Mott, Samuel L. Page, W. J. Waldron. Among other members were Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, Second Regiment Continental Corps of Artillery of the Revolution, who had been a member of the Boston "Tea Party" of 1773, and was an influential member of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, and, in 1814, as Major-General, commanded all the New York militia in the United States service.

This party had at times very lively contests with the Federalists and followers of Alexander Hamilton and other political assailants, but manfully kept together in solid phalanx to the ever-growing terror of the diminishing Federalists and all others inclined to disregard the rights of the people.

The actual organization of the Columbian Order, or the Society of Tammany, which took place on the 12th of May, 1789, happened about two weeks after Washington had taken his initial oath of office as President. It is, therefore, the oldest political organization in the country, none having held together continuously for anything like a century. Tammany is now (1899) over one hundred and ten years old.

The press of 1789 describes the Society of Tammany as being a national society consisting of American-born citizens, who are alone eligible to hold any of its offices, except the merely honorary posts of "Warrior" and "Hunter," which may be filled by adopted citizens. "It is founded," said the *New York Daily Gazette*, "on the true principles of patriotism, and has for its motives, charity and brotherly love. Its officers consist of one Grand Sachem; twelve Sachems, one Treasurer, one Secretary, and one Doorkeeper. It is divided into thirteen Tribes, each severally representing a State of the Union, and each of these tribes has its own Sachem. The honorary posts are only two in number, those of Sagamore and Wiskinskie."

As warriors and hunters are not practically called for in modern times, the duties of these officers have naturally become more pacific. That of Sagamore may now be described, in a general way, as master of ceremonies, and custodian

of the regalia, etc. The regalia collar is of light blue velvet, ornamented with gold. The duties of Wiskinskie include that of a doorkeeper who holds the password, and, in a measure, he occupies a similar position to that of Tyler in a Masonic Lodge."

The original idea of founding this Society of Tammany is to be credited to a business man of New York City, named William Mooney, though it was inevitable that some such association would be formed; for opposition to the aristocratic tendencies of the Federalists was in the air, and it was believed by many of the leading citizens to be absolutely necessary to have some organized body, ready at all times to battle for the preservation of the pure American spirit, and antagonize every symptom of departure from it.

William Mooney was chosen as the first Grand Sachem. His immediate successor was William Pitt Smith, in 1790; then followed Josiah Ogden Hoffman; De Witt Clinton being Scribe of the Council.

The Device or Certificate of Membership is quite an elaborate piece of work. It represents "A pointed arch composed of two cornucopias, resting on two columns, on each side of which are two figures—Liberty and Justice. On a pedestal bearing the former are the figures 1776—1789. Below the foundation on which the two columns rest is another arch standing upon a rocky base; this arch is composed of thirteen stones, each bearing the name of one of the original thirteen States. The keystone is Pennsylvania, and from this fact arose the custom of Speaking of that State as the 'Keystone State.' Below this arch of rocks is a view of land and water, containing appropriate symbols of agriculture and commerce." This expressive device was designed by Dr. Charles Buxton, and engraved, on copper, by Mr. George Graham.

From its first organization the Indian nomenclature was adopted as to divisions of time, and to indicate the seasons, as well as in the titles of its officials. The early notices of its meetings were printed in the same symbolic language—such, for instance, as "the month of snows," the "month of flowers," the "month of fruits," etc.; also using the changes of the moon in the same way, with other imitations of the aboriginal customs, as calling their places of meeting a "wigwam," and their conferences "council fires," and so forth. This probably struck some of the high-toned Federalists as somewhat puerile, but it was meant to emphasize their intense Americanism; and the country soon learned that these characteristics of the society could be turned to good practical account.

Many eventful historical scenes are connected with the early days of Tammany, as for instance, the government's relations with the Creek Indians. Ever since the peace of 1783 the United States had been periodically troubled with Indian outbreaks, and had been particularly anxious to conciliate the Creeks, who then occupied large tracts of land in Florida and Georgia. In 1790 a plan was devised to get the chief of this tribe, or nation, who was an educated half-breed, to come to New York with some of his people, in the expectation that the sights of civilization and of permanent substantial cities would make the red men feel their weakness, and the impossibility of resisting the supremacy of the "pale-faces." In the winter of 1790 an agent, Col. Marinus Willett, was sent South to the Indian country to invite the Chief of the Creeks to come and visit the Great White Father in New York. The expedition was successful, and the following

summer, "in the season of flowers," a large delegation from the Creek nation, under the conduct of their chief, who bore the Scotch name of Alexander McGilvery, arrived in New York.

This unusual event had been prepared for by the Tammany Society with extraordinary elaboration. The members of the Society adopted for the occasion the entire Indian costume, even to the wearing of the tomahawk and feathers. In addition, they attached to the back of the head-dress, as an extemporized symbol of the visiting tribe, a buck's tail; hence arose the popular sobriquet which the Society long bore, of the "Bucktails." The Tammany Society also pitched tents on vacant lots on the banks of the Hudson River, now one of the busiest sections of busy New York. When the Creeks were received and welcomed by the "Bucktails" they were wonderfully surprised and overjoyed, thinking they had found a new tribe of red men, giving vent to their excitement in loud whoops, which greatly startled, if they did not frighten, the Tammany braves.

Among the eminent persons present on this occasion was Thomas Jefferson, who was afterward to be President of the United States; Governor George Clinton, of the State of New York; Chief Justice Jay, of the Supreme Court of the United States; the then Secretary of State, and many other distinguished persons. The bands of Creeks sang their tribal songs, called the *E-tho-song*, after which the Grand Sachem, William Pitt Smith, made them a friendly speech, in the course of which, appealing to the superstitious nature of his auditors, he assured them that, though dead, the spirits of the two great chiefs, Tammany and Columbus, were walking backward and forward in the wigwam.

The Sagamore of the Society then offered the Creek chief the calumet, or pipe of peace, when immediately one of the Indians bestowed upon the Sagamore a new name; he called him *Tuliva Mico*, meaning Chief of the White Town. In the evening all the Indians were taken to the theatre, and for several days they were entertained with banquets, "long talks," music, and whatever else could be devised to amuse and impress them; the members of Tammany wearing their Indian costumes so long as the visit of the Creeks lasted. In consequence of this friendly and unique reception a treaty was secured—as the aborigines called it, "a treaty of friendship with Washington, the beloved Sachem of the Thirteen Fires." The result was a long period of peace with this tribe, which has long been entirely civilized, and, next to the Cherokees, the most advanced in the arts of civilization of any of the aborigines within the jurisdiction of the United States.

CHAPTER V.

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.



THERE were other "Tammany" societies formed in the several States about the time of the New York organization, and also one or two have been formed in recent years. The Tammany Society of Georgia became one of great political influence. Although, in its origin, the New York Tammany was ostensibly only a social and benevolent body, that astute Senator from Pennsylvania, William Maclay, seems to have penetrated the disguise, for, in his diary, under date of May 1, 1789, after describing the parade of "the Sons of Tammany," he says: "There seems to be some kind of scheme laid, of erecting some kind of order or society, under this denomination, but it does not seem well digested yet." He evidently suspected that there was some kind of political purpose concealed under the accepted name of the Tammany "braves."

Just about the same period, in 1789, an organization of a similar nature was formed in Philadelphia. Some writers claim that it was of earlier date than the New York society, having been organized on the first day of May. It certainly existed for several years, but never exercised any very potent political influence. As its annual meetings were held on the first of May, it had probably eleven days precedence as to age. The Philadelphia Tammany Society had two places of meeting: one in the city in a building known as the London Coffee House, on the corner of Front and Market streets. This was a general resort of the fashionable people of the Quaker City.

It was patronized by Federal judges, Congressmen, naval and military officers, as well as by wealthy citizens. In the summer the society met in a beautiful spot on the banks of the Schuylkill, at a place called the Wigwam.

Heckewelder, an interesting chronicler of contemporary events, makes this reference to them under date of May 1st: "Numerous societies of Tammany's votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with bucktails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town, called the Wigwam, where, after a 'long talk,' or Indian speech, had been delivered, and the calumet of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth."

The Philadelphia society had as its badge the eel, which shows it to have been the eleventh tribe, as designated by Chief Tammany in his gift of symbols. In this early period many smaller societies appear to have been organized which were in some sort auxiliaries to that in New York, which was the second tribe, or tiger, the first, or eagle, being the insignia of the nation. Little is known of the other early societies, as but few of them made any mark in politics; they won only a local reputation, and finally drifted into social associations, as did the more promising Philadelphia organization. There is, however, one at least in Portland, Ore., which gives unmistakable signs of life and activity; but, it is of recent origin, having been established in 1887, and its rules have been closely copied from the Tammany organization in this city.

On December 12, 1891, the New York *World* published the following evidence of its vitality:

To the Editor of the World:

Tammany Society, of Portland, Ore., solicits your presence as a guest at its annual banquet, to be given on the evening of the 8th day of January, 1892. The Democracy of the State of Oregon has been invited to be present, and numerous invitations have been sent to prominent Democrats from abroad. It is our hope to be able to make the occasion a memorable one to the Democracy of Oregon.

On the following day, Saturday, January 9th, the State Convention of Democratic Societies will be held, when the first permanent organization will be perfected.

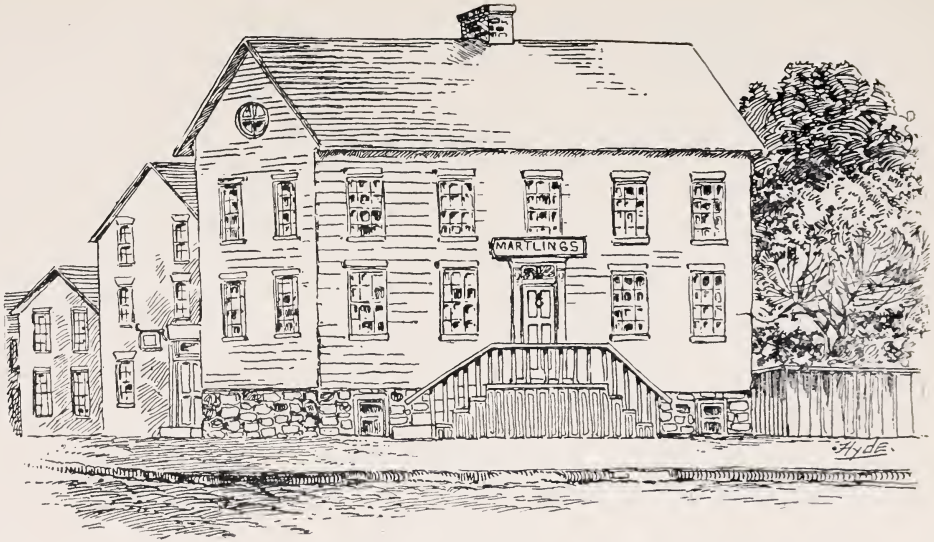
Trusting that you may be able to participate with us, we are courteously yours,

B. GOLDSMITH, President.

M. M. HARRIS, Secretary.

Communications to be addressed to F. A. E. Starr, Chairman Executive Committee, 133 First street, Portland, Ore.

There is one active Tammany society at the present time at Johnstown, Cambria County, Pa., one in Rhode Island, one in Texas, and undoubtedly many others scattered over the country, but not of sufficient extended influence to not of sufficient extended influence to require enumeration here.



THE FIRST WIGWAM, CORNER OF NASSAU AND SPRUCE STREETS, 1798.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TAMMANY SOCIETY AS A CONSERVATOR OF ART — THE TAMMANY MUSEUM.



HERE are now probably few persons who criticise the affairs of the Tammany Society who realize that at one time it was the only organized conservator of Art in the country; and the centre of archæological knowledge in the City of New York. In the same year in which the famous visit of the Creeks occurred the Tammany Society established a Museum for the collection and preservation of everything of interest relating to the antiquities and early history of America. A room was allotted, for this purpose to the use of the Society, in the City Hall, then located in Wall street, near Nassau. Mr. Gardiner Baker, a member of Tammany, was appointed Custodian. The collection of curiosities, principally of Indian origin, though by no means exclusively so, soon outgrew the limited accommodations in the City Hall, and, in 1794, these treasures were removed to a brick building, then standing in the middle of Wall street, at the junction of Broad and Pearl streets; it was known as the "Exchange." The lower part of this building was occupied as a market, but the upper part, having good light on all sides, proved an excellent place for seeing this art collection, a great portion of which had been gathered, or otherwise secured, by Mr. Baker, the custodian, who was an enthusiastic scientist and naturalist; and the following year the whole contents of the museum were, for a consideration, transferred by the Tammany Society to this gentleman. He had spent much time and money in making these collections, on the expectation and ardent desire that these interesting and curious objects should be forever known as "The Tammany Museum," and with the condition that the families of the founders of the Society should always have free access to it.

But Baker was not immortal; and could not control the future fate of his valuable collection. On his death the contents of the museum were sold to a Mr. W. J. Waldron, and went partly into other hands; later the greater part were sold to the "American," or "Scudder's Museum," and, when that was given up, some of the articles were bought by private parties, but the larger portion eventually passed into the hands of P. T. Barnum. Probably among the reasons why the Tammany Society had lost its original interest in the collection was the expense of maintaining it, and the great care required in the preservation of many of the articles, proving, as it did, a considerable draft upon their then limited funds, while their outside patrons were few in number, the population of the city being then so small, and very few being interested in archæological studies. Then, also, when these later transfers took place, the society was greatly interested in securing official recognition, through an Act of Incorporation, which was not obtained, however, until 1805.

John W. Francis, in his interesting "History of Old New York," says of this matter: "I believe that old Tammany was then (the time of Jay's treaty) too

intent upon obtaining their charter to continue the work they had so well commenced of gathering together the relics of Nature and Art to be found in this country. In this collection were to be seen wampum beads, tomahawks, belts, earthen jars and pots, with other Indian antiquities; together with all that could be found of Indian literature, in war songs, hieroglyphic writings on stone, bark and skins, etc., etc." If this enumeration of curios seem to us now rather meagre we must remember that it was founded over a hundred years ago.

A recent discovery of a long-lost Washington portrait links the year 1892 with this old Tammany art collector, Gardiner Baker. The Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Eagle*, of February 29, 1892, contained the following letter, dated Washington, D. C.:

"Consul-General Sherman, of Liverpool, has informed the State Department of the discovery in the Isle of Man, of a portrait of Washington, believed to be one of the three replicas by Gilbert Stuart from his original painting for the Marquis of Landsdowne; and also believed to be the identical portrait that was intended for the Executive Mansion. The portrait is now owned by Mr. William Burrows, and is for sale at the price of $1,000. The size of the canvass is twenty by fifteen inches." Mr. Sherman adds: "If a genuine Stuart, it would seem that it should be owned by the United States." A photograph of the portrait accompanying the dispatch shows it to be a Stuart beyond any reasonable doubt, and extracts from *Black and White*, and from the *Whitehall Review*, give an interesting account of the history of the portrait, which is one of the most singular stories in the history of art, namely, the theft and disappearance of an authentic portrait of George Washington. . . . .

"This third portrait was painted for Mr. Gardiner Baker, of New York, an active member of the Society of St. Tammany, which society, at his suggestion, established a museum. This museum was, in 1794, made over to Mr. Baker, who added, among other attractions, this full-length portrait of the General. In 1796 he appears to have gone to Boston to exhibit the picture, but, dying there of yellow fever, the portrait went to a Mr. Laing in satisfaction of a claim. After a time the committee at Washington charged with furnishing the President's house, bought the picture, which was entrusted to one Winstanly to pack and deliver. He, however, copied the Stuart; delivered the copy and fled to England with the original. Stuart himself was the first to discover the fraud, and denounced it, but the false copy still hangs in the White House; while the original Stuart once owned by Mr. Gardiner Baker, the custodian of the Tammany museum, is now in the hands of a picture dealer of Douglas, in the Isle of Man."

Besides the creditable record which the Tammany Society made in the cause of art, it was always ready to lead, or take part, usually to inaugurate all public movements of a patriotic nature, or to commemorate historical events of interest. Thus it came about that the Tammany Society has the credit of having originated the first Columbian celebration. "On the 12th of October 1792 (old style), the members of the Tammany Society met in their wigwam to celebrate the discovery of America by Columbus. A monumental obelisk was exhibited in the Hall, and an eloquent oration on the great mariner was delivered by Brother J. B. Johnson, one of the original members of the Society." A celebration was held later in Boston, on the 23d of October, but Tammany had set the example.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIETY.



LTHOUGH the act of incorporation of the Tammany Society does not mention any political object as a motive for its formation, it was from the first an essentially political association, though not professedly so, and it was certainly not partisan. Keen observers, however, even on the very day of its founding, "saw something beneath the surface," and that "something" very gradually but steadily gained in strength—it was political influence. For many years during the first half century of its existence no other Democratic party was heard of in the City of New York than the party whose headquarters were in the Wigwam, called indifferently "Bucktails" or "Tammanyites;" and the general principles advocated by the society then, allowing for differences of time and circumstances, were the same as now. Mr. Hammond, in his elaborate work entitled the "Political History of the State of New York," speaking of Governor Tompkin's embarrassment, between appointing De Witt Clinton as Mayor of the city (the Mayors of the city being then appointed by the Governor), and the fear of exciting the displeasure of the Democratic party to which he owed his own election, says: "The Tammany party in New York, which then (1815) really constituted the Democratic party, pressed for his removal. Tompkins was much embarrassed, as he did not want to offend Clinton's friends, and yet dared not encounter the resentment of the New York Tammanyites."

The first notice that we find of a Democratic State Convention was the introduction of a bill in the Assembly, in 1818, by Mr. Edwards, a Tammany member, calling for a State convention, to consider the appointment of officers. The appointment of officers had always previously been arranged in caucus, by the leaders of both parties, just as national candidates were selected in Congressional caucus before national conventions were thought of. In 1817 the Democrats formed their first county conventions through the State (not including New York City), for the express purpose, as they announced, "to enable the Democrats living in counties represented in the Assembly by Federalists to have some voice in nominating the Governor."

In the convention for the revision of the State Constitution, in 1821, the larger proportion of delegates were Democrats; those named from New York City were all Tammany men. The Speaker of the Assembly in 1822 was Grand Sachem Samuel B. Romaine. The only divisions of any account up to this period were entirely personal, and the friends and enemies of DeWitt Clinton made nearly all the discordance that materially affected the party in New York. A little later came divisions, which will be narrated more fully elsewhere.

But, without following the general political course of the Society further, we here give a *verbatim* copy of the act of incorporation of the original association.

CHAPTER VIII.

ACT OF INCORPORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY, OR COLUMBIAN ORDER.

An Act to incorporate the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York. Passed April 9, 1805.

Whereas, William Mooney and other inhabitants of the City of New York have presented a petition to the Legislature, setting forth that they, since the year 1789, have associated themselves under the name and description of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity, they therefore solicit that the Legislature will be pleased by law to incorporate the said Society for the purposes aforesaid, under such limitations and restrictions as to the Legislature shall seem meet.

Therefore, be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That such persons as now are, or shall from time to time become members of the said Society, shall be, and are hereby ordained, constituted and declared to be a body corporate and politic, in deed, fact and name, by the name of the "The Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York," and that by that name they and their successors shall have succession, and shall be persons in law, capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, in all courts and places whatsoever, in all manner of actions, suits, complaints, matters and causes whatsoever; and that they and their successors may have a common seal, and change and alter the same at their pleasure; and that they and their successors shall be persons capable in law to purchase, take, receive, hold and enjoy to them and their successors, any real estate, in fee simple or for term of life, or lives, or otherwise; and any goods, chattels, or personal estate, for the purpose of enabling them the better to carry into effect the benevolent purposes of affording relief to the indigent and distressed; provided, that the clear yearly value of such real and personal estates shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars; and that they and their successors shall have full power and authority to give, grant, sell, lease, devise or dispose of the said real and personal estates or any part thereof, at their will and pleasure; and that they and their successors shall have power from time to time to make, constitute, ordain and establish by-laws, constitutions, ordinances and regulations as they shall judge proper, for the election of their officers, for the election or admission of new members of the said corporation and the terms and manner of admission, for the better government and regulation of their officers and members, for fixing the times and places of meeting of the said corporation, and for regulating all the affairs and business of the said corporation; provided, that such by-laws and regulations shall not be repugnant to the Constitution or laws of the United States, or of this State.

For the better carrying on the business and affairs of the said corporation, there shall be such numbers of officers of the said corporation, and of such denomination or denominations, to be chosen in such manner and at such times and places as are now, or shall from time to time be directed by the constitution and by-laws of the said corporation, made or to be made for that purpose; and that such number and description of members shall be sufficient to constitute a legal meeting of the said corporation as are now or may hereafter be directed by the said constitution and by-laws of the said corporation.

And be it further enacted, That this Act be and hereby is declared to be a public act, and that the same be construed in all courts and places benignly and favorably for every beneficial purpose therein intended.

[Signed] THOMAS TILLOTSON,
Secretary of State.

ALBANY, February 24, 1807.

CHAPTER IX.

RECRUITS FROM THE FEDERAL PARTY.

The Democratic party of New York, with the Tammany Society as its earliest representative, has had the peculiar and pleasant experience of frequently welcoming back into its ranks, not only individual members who have temporarily declined to act with the majority, but also factional parties who have for a time acted independently under other names. One of the most remarkable of these accessions occurred early in its history, and has not been given that prominence in the political histories of the country which its importance deserves. This was a sudden desertion of fifty of the leading Federalists of the day from their own ranks and their application for membership at the Wigwam. This action excited much interest at the time, including, as it did, the whole of the powerful Livingston family in the city, including the renowned Chancellor, he having joined in 1790. It was in 1820 that this body of fifty old-time opponents, members of the Federal party, publicly announced their withdrawal from their late associates and their intention to join the Democracy, which, of course, meant the Tammany Society.

In explanation of this action, in referring to the documents of that time, we learn that there was a growing dissatisfaction among the more progressive portion of the Federalists, who, in the language of their day, were designated as "High-minded Federalists." On the 14th of April, 1820, a number of these put out a public address, in which they say: "The Federal party no longer exists; as a party, it is dissolved and annihilated, and even the bonds of mutual confidence and private regard are severed, perhaps forever." And again: "The Federalists have now no ground of principle on which to stand." And, therefore, these gentlemen declare their intention of uniting with the "great Democratic party of the State and Union." This extraordinary manifesto, which was of considerable length, was signed by the persons whose names are given below, representing as highly respectable citizens as were then to be found in the city, either in politics or society.

List of the fifty Federalists who announced the death of their party and joined the Democrats: Peter Jay Monroe, J. O. Hoffman, Jonathan Hasbrouk, George D. Wickham, Morris S. Miller, Melancthon Wheeler, Levi Callender, Joshua Whitney, John Suydam, R. W. Stoddard, David Hudson, H. Montgomery, H. B. Bender, George W. Tibbits, Thomas Mumford, John Duer, John A. King, Elisha B. Strong, George F. Tallman, Joshua A. De Witt, Charles A. Foot, James Lynch, Glen Cuyler, John L. Wendell, Charles King, A. B. Hasbrouk, T. S. Morgan, Jeffrey Wisner, James A. Hamilton, Ebenezer Griffin, John C. Morris, Livingston Billings, Tracey Robinson, Johnson Verplank, Henry Brown, Thomas J. Delancy, Thomas G. Waterman, John C. Hamilton, James Clapp, William A. Duer, William P. Sherman, Isaac Dubois, Zeb. R. Shepherd, Alanson Austin, Garrit Post, Elisha Ely, H. Vanderlyn, W. W. Mumford.

Another party of Federalists had quitted their wonted ranks in 1812, and joined Tammany. These were called by their contemporaries the "Coody party," the name being given in reference to a series of articles published, signed Abimelech Coody, the author of which severely attacked the Federalists for their British affinities and opposition to the war. These letters, as was afterward learned, were written by Gulian C. Verplanck, and were especially bitter against De Witt Clinton. Of this set of seceding Federalists the historian Horton says: "The leaders of the Coody party were Gulian C. Verplanck, Hugh Maxwell, Jacob Ratcliff, Richard Hatfield, Josiah Heddin and John Hopkins, about forty altogether;" and he adds, "they rushed into Tammany Hall, claiming to have become better Democrats than even the old chiefs of the Wigwam. Though a few of the ancient braves were inclined to be wary, the Coodyites were cordially received and granted seats 'around the Council Fire.' The sequel is interesting. Shortly after Ratcliff was made Mayor; Hatfield became Clerk of the Sessions, and Maxwell was made District Attorney. In retaliation, when De Witt Clinton became Governor, he removed a number of Tammany men from office; but most of them were restored by his successor, Governor Joseph C. Yates."

In the course of these pages the fact will be discovered that nearly all the seceders from Tammany Hall, who have at any time taken the shape of new parties, have eventually returned to the shelter of the great Wigwam, and have usually found themselves happier there than in endeavoring to maintain separate action as Democrats.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY CELEBRATIONS OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

IT will probably be a surprise to many people to learn that for several years after its formation the Society of Tammany celebrated the Fourth of July by a semi-religious service, listening to a sermon as well as the reading of the Declaration of Independence. In 1791 the Tammany Society invited the Rev. Dr. William Linn, of the Middle Reformed Dutch Church, to preach before them on the national anniversary. A copy of this sermon, now over a century old, is preserved in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society. The Tammanyites of that day had the grace not only to thank the preacher in very handsome terms for his sermon, but they also requested the loan of the manuscript for the purpose of securing printed copies of the same; of which six hundred were ordered. There were not, of course, any stenographic reporters in those days; nor, if there had been, any newspapers large enough to have given space to such lengthy matter. In this sermon the reverend gentleman had dilated at length upon the great size and geographical advantages of the country, as well as its political superiority over the nations of Europe, dropping into poetry, by quoting the well-known lines:

> "What is life? . . . .
> 'Tis not to stalk and draw fresh air
> From time to time, to gaze upon the sun.
> 'Tis to be free! When liberty is gone
> Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish."

Music and the reading of a religious and patriotic ode concluded the celebration.

In 1793 the 4th of July was again celebrated by the Tammany Society by listening to a sermon; this time by a Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Miller, who took for his general argument the proposition that Christianity is the surest basis of political liberty.

In explaining his choice of a subject, he said: "To this choice of a subject am I led by the recollection that the respected society to which this discourse is in a particular manner addressed hold up as the great object of their attention everything that may tend to promote the progress of civil liberty, and to transmit it pure and undefiled to the latest posterity," adding to these noble words many more complimentary remarks on the patriotism of the Tammany Society.

We will refer to only one more of these early religious celebrations of the national anniversary by Tammany; this was in 1794, and was conducted by an Episcopalian, the Rev. Mr. Pillmore. This gentleman struck a more florid style of oratory than the society had hitherto been treated to. His especial theme was unity, and he thus saluted the members of the Tammany Society before him: "Hail, patriot leaders of the happy tribes! Raise your banners in the temple of honor of our Heavenly King! To you, gentlemen, we, and all our citizens, are much indebted for your encouragement of art, and the science of archæology, in

the establishment of the museum which arose under your auspices, and which has already been enriched by your liberality; not only with a choice collection of the curious productions of nature, but likewise with some of the most masterly productions of literature, particularly those treating of the rights of man, which will happily preserve them from oblivion."

On a later occasion an orator named J. B. Johnson also addressed the society on the necessity of preserving a strict union, not only among themselves, but a friendly union between the States. One of his expressions emphasizes strongly the immense growth of the United States since that day; alluding to the great size of the country as an additional reason and necessity for unity, he exclaims: "A land stretching from New Hampshire to Georgia." Not seeing in prophetic vision the immense expansion which was to come, he still proceeded to argue that on account of the great size of the United States, and the large number composing the Union, that the sovereignty of each individual State should be carefully watched over and maintained. Indeed, this address is one of the earliest as well as most outspoken appeals in advocacy of State rights, as against any possible encroachments of the General Government. "How," he asks, "can one eye, however wakeful and piercing, watch the sacred deposit of the people's interests with so much safety as the quick and vivid glance of fifteen (Vermont and Kentucky were then included in the Union) sovereign and United States?" In concluding his address, he thus compliments the fraternal spirit of the Tammany Society: "Suffer me, brothers to offer to you the sentiment of my fraternal affection and regard. Within the walls of your wigwam has my heart often expanded with genuine delight; there, innocent pleasure wanders free and unmolested, and smiles on every guest. There friendship, founded on the purest motives, knits, in the firm knot of Union, the hearts of every true brother; there the flame of patriotism, kindled by the tongue of eloquence, and the sweet voice of freedom, darts from soul to soul, and illuminates your peaceful hall. And there, if I have any love for my country, any ardor in the cause of liberty, any strong desire for the happiness of mankind, there have these virtues been born, being also, by your precept and example, exalted and refined. Brothers, keep in mind that you are the Union in miniature. Many are your fires, but they all burn within the same circle. Many are your links, but they all constitute one bright, strong, and, I trust, enduring chain."

From those early days until the present time, whether the orator of the day used the form of a sermon or a simply patriotic address, the Tammany Society never celebrated the Fourth of July without listening to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, a custom well worthy of imitation by other associations.

In 1813 several societies united with Tammany in celebrating the national anniversary, including the George Clinton Association. The orator of the day was Mr. John Rodman. The war with Great Britain was then in progress, and in the course of his address several of the Eastern States came under the scalpel of the speaker. He said: "Sons of Tammany, to keep alive the patriot flame is the object of our association, and the basis of our institution. Under the Tree of Liberty we have for many years smoked the Calumet of Peace, and rejoiced at the prosperity of our country. But now the thunders of war murmur in our ears, and while, in some of the States, those who should be active sit supine, others

seem inclined to encourage the enemy." In justification of such remarks it will be remembered that many of the influential men of New England, the merchants, manufacturers and shippers, were mainly Federalists, and, in a measure, for party reasons, but still more upon financial considerations, were even then considering the convening of the famous, or, shall we say infamous, "Hartford Convention," which actually took place some five months later. The attitude of the Federalists of New England at this time was naturally regarded by all good Democrats as semi-traitorous, and very fair subjects for a scathing rebuke on the Fourth of July. In addition to his criticism on New England, Mr. Rodman discussed the question of the maritime rights of the United States, not failing to denounce, as the Democrats always had done, "Jay's Treaty," which, it is now universally admitted, surrendered too much to the claims of England. "Our ships," exclaimed the orator, "are a part of our territory, and England's non-expatriation theory can never be admitted."

At a special meeting held on March 31, 1817, to celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the incorporation of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, over which Samuel Berrian, Esq., presided, the animus of the meeting was mainly directed against the attempt of Spain to repress, by force of arms, the rising spirit of liberty which was beginning to show itself in the Spanish colonies of Central and South America. One of the speakers commented severely on those members of Congress who had voted to raise their own pay. "Do you think, or can you imagine," said he, "that any representative will perform his legislative functions with more ability for this increase of salary? Gold may shed a factitious splendor over infamy and crime, but gold never did, and never can, add a single throb to the impulse of integrity."

We have given considerable space to these early orators of Tammany, more, perhaps, than is intrinsically interesting, but there certainly seems no better way to get at the animating spirit of any set of men, politicians or others, than to let them speak for themselves at times, and under circumstances, when there was no motive for suppression or concealment. Tammany shows well under this retrospective light.

CHAPTER XI.

POETS AND LITERATI OF TAMMANY.



O those unacquainted with the early history and social standing of the Tammany Society it may be somewhat of a surprise to learn how large a proportion of the literary men of the period were habitual habitués of the Wigwam.

We have elsewhere called attention to the fact that the Tammany Society was never without a supply of oratorical and poetical talent more than sufficient to embellish with appropriate poems and songs the ceremonies of its anniversaries and other festal occasions; indeed, it may truthfully be said that for the first eighty years of Tammany's existence all the best poetry of New York was Democratic; and nearly all the well-known poets were Tammany men. One of the earliest of these was Philip Freneau, but a name much better known, because later, is that of William Cullen Bryant. He is too well known to require any biographical notice here, but, in evidence of his practical sympathy and cordial fraternization with the other Tammany poets of his day, we have only to call attention to his estimation of, and cordial friendship with, the late William Leggett—one of the leaders of the "Loco Foco" party, which temporarily separated from Tammany Hall, but reunited with the old society after the experience of a brief independent career.

* * *

William Leggett, one of the sweetest of American poets, was for a considerable time associated with Bryant in the editorial work of the *Evening Post*, and subsequently in the conduct of the *Democratic Review*. It was in this latter periodical, after Leggett's death, that Bryant wrote that beautiful poetical tribute to the friend he valued almost above any other, commencing:

"The earth may ring from shore to shore.
With echoes of a glorious name;
But he whose loss our hearts deplore,
Has left behind him *more* than fame."

Mr. Leggett himself is best known to lovers of poetry by that most tender lyric beginning:

"If yon bright stars which gem the night,
Be each a blissful dwelling sphere."

But to politicians his newspaper work furnishes an inexhaustible mine of elevated Democratic thought and suggestion, which can never be outgrown or become obsolete.

* * *

Philip Freneau was of French Huguenot descent, but came to New York in 1774, when the patriot blood of the colonists was in a ferment over the question of defying British rule and declaring the country independent. He immediately identified himself with the interests of America, and became a zealous patriot. Having mercantile interests in the West Indies, in 1778, he had taken passage for St. Eustasia, but the vessel had scarcely got beyond the Capes of Delaware when

he was overhauled by a British frigate and captured Mr. Freneau, with all on board, being made prisoners, and brought back to the port of New York, this city being then in the hands of the enemy. The young Frenchman was first placed on board of the "prison ship Scorpion," then lying in the North River, where, falling very ill, he was transferred to the so-called "hospital ship," in the Wallabout. What he endured in these wretched abodes he has partly succeeded in telling in a long poem, entitled "The British Prison Ships." It commences thus:—

"The various horrors of these hulks to tell,"

and goes on to describe, first, his experience on the Scorpion, which appears bad enough, yet not equal to the misery of the hospital, as to which a victim already there salutes him with the exclamation:—

"If that was purgatory, this is hell."

By some means now unknown, perhaps by bribing the guard, Mr. Freneau managed to escape from his captors, and, after peace was proclaimed, he settled down to literary persuits in New York, where he was recognized as the "Patriot Poet." As soon as the Tammany Society was formed he was naturally found fraternizing with the "braves" of the wigwam. He was offered a Government position by President Jefferson, but declined the honor. He was always greatly interested in the fate of the American Indians, and one of his longest poems is called "The Prophecy of King Tammany."

* * *

Fitz-Greene Halleck. A very pleasant name to remember in this connection is that of Halleck—a name known, like Bryant's, to every scholar throughout Christendom, as well as to every school-boy in the United States. Though this genial poet was a native of Connecticut, he was for fifty years a resident of the City of New York. This he considered his home; elsewhere, even in his native village, he was but a "guest." That he was an habitual visitor, and always welcome in the wigwam, we have his own words for, in some verses of which the following couplet forms part, where, speaking of Tammany Hall, he says:

"In the time of my youth it was pleasant to call
For a seat and segar 'mid the jovial throng."

It was in his later days that these verses were written, which exhibited the geniality of his nature and his Burns-like conception of good-fellowship. One of Mr. Halleck's first literary friendships was formed with that other charming poet, Joseph Rodman Drake, and it was in memoriam of this gifted friend that he wrote the oft-quoted lines:

"Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days, etc.

* *

Fitz-Greene Halleck's special forte was undoubtedly that of good-humored satire, which was as often applied to his friends as his political opponents, of which Grand Sachem Walter Bowne (who was also Mayor of New York) was once a victim. At that time, 1820, the Mayor, as a prerogative of his office, had been making somewhat of a political sweep of hold-over officials, to the surprise of some of his adherents and the consternation of others. Very shortly after these changes had been affected there appeared in one of the city papers an "Address to W....r B.w.e.," of which we can make room for a few lines only:

"We do not blame you W—— B——
For a variety of reasons;
You're now the talk of half the town,
A man of talent and renown,
And will be, for perhaps two seasons.
* * * * *
How could you have the heart to strike
From place the peerless Pierre Van Wyck,
And the twin Colonels, Haines and Pell,
Squire Fessenden, and Sheriff Bell?

And when you visit us again,
Leaning at Tammany on your cane,
Like warrior on his battle-blade,
You'll mourn the havoc you have made."

* * *

Joseph Rodman Drake was another of the brilliant poetic coterie who found genial companionship and political sympathy in the Wigwam. His finest poem, considered as purely literary work, is no doubt "The Culprit Fay," but he is probably more generally remembered as the author of that soul-stirring production:

"When Freedom, from her mountain height,
Unfurled her standard to the air," etc.

* * *

Washington Irving was one of the famous group of literary friends whose political affiliations were with Tammany Hall, but from the fact that he spent so much of his active life abroad his name figures less constantly in the annals of the society than some of his confrères. The Democratic President, Madison, offered him a Secretaryship in the Navy, which, however, he declined. He accepted the appointment of Minister to Spain from President Tyler, remaining abroad at that time four years. On his return to New York he was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm, as one who had done much to elevate the literary reputation of his native country abroad. His old friends of the Tammany Society were among the most ardent of his admirers.

At a meeting held in the Wigwam he was named as a candidate for the Mayoralty, which event the late George William Curtis thus described, in the course of a lecture given in New York: "Tammany Hall unanimously and *vociferously* nominated him for Mayor, an incident which transcends the most humorous touch in Knickerbocker's history." That Mr. Curtis should see anything jocose in this perfectly serious nomination by Tammany probably arose from the fact that he never realized the intense Americanism of the Tammany Society. It was not as a literary man especially that they desired to honor Mr. Irving, for they had always plenty of literary timber at hand, but partly for old association's sake, and from their natural instinct to honor any man who had brought honor to America.

For several years there was in New York City, dating from the last decade of the last century and coming down to comparatively modern times, a somewhat exclusive but very able and interesting group of literary workers, known as the "Literary Confederacy," nearly all of whom were more or less affiliated with Tammany, of which association Gulian C. Verplanck was the head. They were a genial set, and all men of rare talent and wit, as well as patriotic Democrats. Among them was the poet Robert C. Sands, to whom Appleton gives an

extended notice in his "Biographical Cyclopædia." Robert's father had been a noted hero in the Revolutionary War, and the son was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of independence. In the winter of 1822-3, in conjunction with his friend Eastburn (afterward Bishop of Rhode Island), he started a magazine, which he called the "St. Tammany Magazine," but his periodical had not a very long life; and, thus when Charles Fenno Hoffman started the "Knickerbocker," he transferred his talents to that successful magazine. His most elaborate poem was on the great Sachem of the Pequods, entitled "King Philip's War." Mr. Sands had the peculiar faculty of writing with more facility in the presence of others than when alone.

Did space permit, we should like to give some account of many more of the Tammany poets, including Edward Sanford, Attorney-General of the United States, who assisted materially in the election of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency. Like others of the early American poets, the picturesque natives of the soil attracted their peculiar sympathy. One of Mr. Sanford's best efforts is revealed in a poetical address to Blackhawk, commencing:

"There's beauty on thy brow, old Chief."

Elsewhere in these pages will be found references to others of the poet class, with a somewhat more detailed account of one of the more modern, Mr. Halpine.

John Pintard was one of the "all-round" literary men of the earlier period. He was Tammany's first Sagamore. Mr. Pintard was one of those cultivated men, active in every intellectual work of which the history of the Tammany Society furnishes so many examples. When quite a young man John Pintard served as a clerk in the store of his uncle, the renowned patriot and philanthropist, Elias Boudinot, President of the Congress, in 1782, and, as such, signer of the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. Young Pintard shared with this intellectual relative not only his taste for history and science, but also his love of country and of Democratic principles. He had many opportunities, during the War of the Revolution, to see the cruel treatment of the prisoners held by the British in the overcrowded prisons of New York, and in later years was often heard to describe the condition of the old Dutch Church on Nassau street, with its pews and pulpit torn out, into which was thrust some three thousand prisoners.

He was one of the original organizers of the Tammany Society, and, as stated above, its first Sagamore. He was also an active and zealous promoter of the Tammany Museum, established in 1791, under the guardianship of Mr. Baker. Indeed, this Tammany Museum was the forerunner of the New York Historical Society, of which Mr. Pintard, with other prominent Tammany men, was the founder, some dozen years later. It was in 1804 that Mr. Pintard met by appointment with the following gentlemen in the old City Hall, then in Wall street, for the purpose of forming the Historical Society of New York. These were Messrs. De Witt Clinton, Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, Anthony Bleecker and some others. Mr. Pintard* was appointed on the committee to draft a constitution. The old members of the Tammany Society, who had been interested in the Archæological Museum, came largely to the support of this new institution, and for some years the infant Historical Society held its meetings in the same rooms formerly occupied by the Tammany Museum in Wall street.

*Mr. Moncure D. Conway, in his "Life of Thomas Paine," makes the mistake of naming Pintard as the founder of Tammany.

Mr. Pintard's activities were not limited to the collection of curios or historical works. He was a practical philanthropist, a prominent member of the Bible Society, and a trustee of the Sailors' Snug Harbor; he was an early advocate of the common school system, and encouraged the establishment of savings banks; and to him we are largely indebted for the sensible system adopted in laying out the streets and avenues of New York City. Such a man could hardly keep out of print, having so many practical views to present for the public consideration, and naturally we find him exploiting many of these in the newspapers of the day, especially in the *Daily Advertiser*. He survived until 1844, passing from his many activities at the ripe age of eighty-six, in the city of his birth, where nearly the whole of his life was spent, and which still retains so many evidences of his beneficent career.

Of the political writers, their name is legion, who have first or last been connected with Tammany Hall. They are too numerous to be even named here, but, as a sample, we would refer the reader to the official documents of William L. Marcy, Governor of New York in 1833-39. Secretary of War under President Polk, and Secretary of State under President Pierce. His papers on the Koszta affair with Austria would alone immortalize his name in America. His peers, or approximate peers, if fairly represented by their own writings, would fill many volumes larger than this.

CHAPTER XII.

TAMMANY VERSUS AARON BURR.

TAMMANY HALL has never had any toleration for traitors, either national or those working professedly in their own ranks. For mere seceders and factionists breaking away from the organization, on the contrary, there is always a way open to return, if the fight has been an open one and fairly conducted. But when Tammany drops a man for disloyalty to the party that is an end of him. So it proved with that distinguished soldier and early patriot, Aaron Burr, whose later actions so clouded his better fame that his patriotic deeds are all forgotten. Yet, until he was nearing fifty years of age, he was one of the foremost men of his day, as plainly appears from his having been placed on the Presidential ticket with Jefferson.

Not only was he an astute politician, but, up to a certain point in his career, he even ranked as a statesman; he was also a brilliant society man, and had in his horizon as bright possibilities as any man in the country, had he not spoiled all by that "vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself," and the lack of patience to await his time. Having passed through the Revolutionary War with the reputation of an able and even brilliant officer, in 1788 he commenced the practice of law in New York City, and having received the appointment of Attorney General for the State, was subsequently chosen to serve in the State Senate, and was later elected to the Assembly. On the Democratic ticket for President in 1801 were the names of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr—it being well understood that the higher office was meant for Jefferson, and the Vice-Presidency for Burr.

The mode of election to these offices at that time differed from the present mode. The custom then was to select the person having the largest number of votes to fill the office of President, and the next highest number for the Vice-Presidency, no matter how many candidates there might be. In this case Jefferson and Burr received exactly the same number of electoral votes, namely, 73 each (which shows conclusively the high estimation in which Burr was held). This threw the election into the House, and immediately Burr and his friends began to intrigue for the highest place; this displeased all fair-minded people of all parties, who knew, as did Burr himself, that the voters had not so intended. The pressure of public opinion, however, forced Burr to withdraw his pretensions, but he did not do so until his contest became hopeless; Jefferson was chosen, and Tammany had no farther use for Aaron Burr.

It was in this campaign that Tammany first assumed a distinctly partisan political attitude which it has maintained somewhat vigorously ever since.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRISON-SHIP MARTYRS.



UTSIDE of politics, Tammany, as a society, never let anything of public interest pass without giving to it all the attention and aid, when necessary, which the subject deserved. In the Long Island Historical Society, located in Brooklyn, on the corner of Clinton and Pierrepont streets, may be seen a concrete proof of the patriotic feelings and actions of the Tammany Society of New York. This interesting object consists of an inscribed stone, four feet three inches in height by three feet wide, and is part of the structure which contained for many years the bones of those men of the Revolution who were confined as prisoners of war in British ships lying off that part of Brooklyn known as Wallabout Bay. They are generally spoken of as the "Prison-ship Martyrs." These men were offered their liberty if they would promise not to again take up arms in the American cause; to a man they refused to give the promise, and in consequence perished in these prison-ships by thousands. The inscription on the stone above referred to is as follows:

"In the name of the spirits of the Departed Free. Sacred to the memory of that portion of American Seamen, Soldiers and Citizens who perished in the cause of the Liberty of their country, on board the prison ships of the British (during the Revolutionary war) at the Wallabout. This is the corner-stone of the vault which contains their relics.

"Erected by the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, of New York, the ground for which was bestowed by John Jackson, Nassau Island,* season of Blossoms, year of discovery 316th, of the Institution the 19th, and of American Independence the 32d. April the 6th, 1808.

JACOB VANDERVORT,
BURDETT STRYKER,
ROBERT TOWNSEND,
SAMUEL COWDREW,
JOHN JACKSON,
ISSACHAR COZZENS,
BENJAMIN WATSON,

Wallabout Committee.

WILLIAM and DAVID CAMPBELL, builders."

The following brief statement in explanation of the action of the Tammany Society in this matter will, we think, convince any reader that the erection of this monument, which should have been a national charge, was a most praiseworthy work for a local society to undertake. There were many old British ships used as prisons during the Revolutionary War, while the City of New York was in the hands of the enemy, but the vessel named the "Jersey" seems to have borne the palm of infamy, among all these amphibious cages full to overcrowding of patriot Americans.

After the battle of Long Island in August, 1776, and the capture of Fort Washington in November of the same year, the British prisons in New York City were overflowing with prisoners of war, and a number of dismantled ships, mostly transports, many having been used for cattle, were anchored in the Wallabout, and soon filled with thousands of prisoners; seamen, soldiers, and private citizens, of the latter alone there were over five thousand. The fateful "Jersey" is described

* Original name given by the Dutch settlers to Long Island.

by a local writer as follows: "She was originally a 64-gun ship, she was dismantled in 1776 and placed in Wallabout Bay, and used as a prison-ship until the end of the war, when she was abandoned and left to decay. Often as many as a thousand prisoners were simultaneously confined on the 'Jersey.' Her crew was composed of drafted British and Hessian soldiers, who were very cruel to their prisoners. Many of those confined here were within a stone's throw of their friends and relatives, and these poor starving prisoners gazed from their prison port-holes on the neighboring shores, where welcome and plenty awaited them. If they could but escape, or would they but promise obedience to the crown, and they were free. Promises of pardon and of gold were made to them, if they would submit to 'Good King George,' but they sadly shook their heads. 'Then rot,' said the British officer. And rot and die they did."

Their bodies were taken ashore, and only half buried on the swampy land bordering on the bay, where their bones long lay utterly neglected, and where they might have continued to lie for an indefinite period, perhaps forever, if the Tammany Society of New York had not taken the initiative and determined to take practical action in regard to this matter. There had been much ineffectual talk in Brooklyn about the shame of leaving these bodies, the bones of which might sometimes be seen protruding from the uncared-for earth. In 1792 the citizens of the then small town of Brooklyn met, and resolved that the bones should be collected and buried in the graveyard of the Dutch Reformed Church, but the owner of the land on which most of them lay had already gathered a great many in one spot in order to make way for some improvements, objections of various kinds were raised, the matter was not energetically pushed, and the subject was dropped.

But the Tammany Society, though located in New York, on the opposite side of the dividing water, (mis-called) the East *River*, determined that these patriots' bones should be cared for. On the 10th of February, 1803, they appointed Dr. Samuel Mitchell to present an eloquent Memorial to Congress, inviting the co-operation of patriots in every part of the United States; considering, as was really the fact, that this was an object of national interest, Congress did nothing.

The Society made some further efforts to enlist the community at large, and met with individual cases of hearty response; but nothing practical resulted from this either. Then Tammany resolved to take upon itself the whole of the work. Mr. John Jackson, being now satisfied that the matter was in the right hands, voluntarily presented the Society with a lot of land sufficiently large to contain all the remains which could be recovered. This land was on Jackson street, adjoining the Navy Yard. Work was commenced at once, and on the 13th day of April, 1808, the ceremony of laying the corner-stone took place.

A procession was formed at the old Wigwam, in Nassau street, New York, and having marched through several streets in that city, the Tammany Society, with numerous friendly adherents, reached the Brooklyn shore near the present location of the Fulton Ferry. The passage across was made in thirteen large open boats, representing the thirteen tribes of Tammany, as well as the original thirteen States. Each tribe brought with them an enormous coffin draped in black. They landed at Main street, accompanied by a military band, which played funereal music. A striking feature of the procession, which was led by Major

Ayerigg, was a large truck-carriage, which bore a grand pedestal and monument, representing black marble, enclosed by a fence. This monument had four panels, on each of which was a motto, in large letters, as follows: "Americans, remember the British." "Youth of my Country! Martyrdom prefer to Slavery." "Sires of Columbia, transmit to posterity the cruelties practiced on board the British Prison Ships." "Tyrants dread the gathering storm, while Freemen, Freeman's obsequies Perform." On top of this monument was a staff eighteen feet high, bearing an American flag, at the apex of which was a globe on which was an eagle enveloped in black crepe. Preceding this was a young man, dressed in appropriate costume, representing the "Genius of America." This character was simulated by Mr. Josiah Falconer, a member of Tammany and the son of a revolutionary patriot. Other young men represented, in character, the Seven Virtues. Leading the whole procession came, first, the Grand Sachem, the Father of the Council and other officers of the Society following, accompanied by a herald and trumpeter. The procession marched through Main, Sands, Bridge, and York streets, halting at the vault prepared as the receptacle of the honored relics, while artillery boomed from the neighboring height of Fort Green, where, later, Joseph D. Fay pronounced a brilliant oration, after the corner-stone had been laid with the usual ceremonies.

This was a great day, both for New York and for Brooklyn; the streets were filled with people, and the river was alive with boats, brilliant with American flags, as were also many of the houses on the line of the procession. Benjamin Romaine was at this time Grand Sachem. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the Tammany party returned to New York.

The relics of the dead were actually placed in the vault under the structure built for their reception, on the 26th day of the following May. Eleven thousand men had died on the prison ship "Jersey" alone; how many on the other ships is not accurately known, but the number was proportionately as large—except in one case, where the officers were endued with some measure of humanity.

Some time after the performance of this national duty by the Society of Tammany, the land on which the vault was erected changed hands, the grade of Jackson street was altered, and the lot on which the relics of the martyrs rested were sold for taxes. Again, it was a Tammany man who came to the rescue. Benjamin Romaine, the late Grand Sachem, bought it in. He had personally known what it was to be a British prisoner, having been for many months in one of the sugar-house prisons in the City of New York. Mr. Romaine subsequently built an ante-chamber over the vault and otherwise improved and decorated the building with inscriptions and other adornments. To better ensure its future preservation, he adopted it for his personal burying-place, and in 1829 had his own coffin placed therein, properly inscribed, lacking only the date of his decease. This premature coffin was placed alongside of the monster thirteen receptacles containing the martyrs' bones. Mr. Romaine was more than once asked to surrender this plot to the city, but he persistently refused. He said: "These relics are my property" (he had spent nearly a thousand dollars in improving and caring for the place above the original price of the lot). He also said: "When I am placed with them I shall bequeath them to my country, and commend them to the care of the Government."

This noble man died in 1844, at the ripe age of eighty-two. The martyrs' bones, which he had so tenderly cared for, have since been placed within an elevated terrace, on the westerly side of "Fort Green" (officially named Washington Park).

Congress has annually, but vainly, for the last twenty years, been besought to make an appropriation to mark this spot by a suitable monument.

There is now (1901) in the Borough of Brooklyn a Society of Ladies, whose object is to erect the long delayed monument by securing a state appropriation for that object and by general subscription, with good prospect of success.

CHAPTER XIV.

BUILDING A NEW WIGWAM.

AN eventful year was 1811 in the annals of the Tammany Society; for in that year was laid the corner-stone of the first permanent Wigwam, which was erected on the corner of Nassau and Frankfort streets—included in what is now called "Printing House Square." On account of the troublous condition of the times just preceding the war of 1812, the ceremony was less elaborate than it would otherwise have been, and the small four-paged papers of the day had less space to devote to local events that is now imperative; but we have a copy of the inscription on the stone, and a full list of the active officers of the Society on that auspicious occasion.

Inscription on the Corner-Stone laid May 12, 1811.

"This stone is laid by the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order No. 1, on the 12th day of May, 1811, and the 21st year of its institution, and the 35th of American Independence, being the first stone of a building erected for preserving and strengthening that patriotic chain which unites its members and for accommodating their Republican* brethren.

Officers of the Society in 1811.

Clarkson Crolius, Grand Sachem.
William J. Waldron, Treasurer.
Henry Howard, Secretary.

Council of Sachems.

Garrett Sickles, Father of the Council.

William Mooney,	Stephen Allen,
John P. Haff,	William Peterson,
Lawrence Meyers,	Peter Embury,
Oliver Drake,	Adrian Hageman.
Abraham Stagg,	George Buckmaster,
Benjamin Romaine,	Jonas Humbert.

Issachar Cozzens, Wiskinskie.
William Mayell, Scribe.
Richad Kipp, Sagamore.

BUILDING COMMITTEE—Henry Rutgers, Augustus Wright, William J. Waldron, Matthew L. Davis, John S. Hunn, James Warner, John Hopper, John Haff, William Jones, Stephen Allen, Jacob Barker, Clarkson Crolius, John T. Irving.

MASONS—William Simons, John O'Blenis.
CARPENTER—George B. Thorp.

The work of erection went bravely on, and the building was completed in time for the officers of the Society to receive and entertain, in their grand new hall, the most famous naval and military heroes of the war of 1812-15

In later days it was the custom of the Society to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans by a ball, and on these occasions the most distinguished citizens often took part. Among the favorites of the ballroom at these and other entertainments was the accomplished and ever graceful "Prince John Van Buren,"

* It will be remembered "Republican" then meant Democratic.

son of President Martin Van Buren, who obtained his distinguished sobriquet from the fact of his having on one occasion danced with Queen Victoria soon after her Majesty had become Queen.

But dancing and banquets were far from being the chief occupation of the members of Tammany during the early years of their occupation of the new Wigwam. When the news was received in New York City—January 20, 1812—that war had been declared against Great Britain, the first call for a public meeting in support of the Administration was issued by the Tammany Society, inviting the citizens to meet in the City Hall Park on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 24th. This meeting was presided over by Col. Henry Rutgers as chairman, the secretary being ex-Mayor Marinus Willetts, both well-known Tammany men, Henry Rutgers having been one of those who contributed liberally toward the erection of the Wigwam. He was the founder of the great Rutgers estate in New York, and the beneficent patron of colleges, charitable institutions, etc. The city at this time contained many Federalists, some of whom bitterly opposed the war, while others of them gave to the Administration but a cold and qualified support. The whole-souled war men were the Democrats, of whom Governor Daniel Tompkins was, by nature of his office, the most prominent. His home at this time was on the Bowery, near Houston street.

Previous to the outbreak of hostilities the Tammany Society, when celebrating the Fourth of July by a procession, preceding the ceremonies at the Wigwam, had continued the use of the bucktail insignia and other Indian decorations, but on account of the alliance of certain tribes of Indians with the British invaders, and their savage mode of warfare, the question arose in the Society whether it would not be better to abandon this usage and to parade in citizens' dress. Opinion was not unanimous on the point, but the majority decided in favor of the latter course, and the annual procession was made without the usual aboriginal display, preceded only by the handsome large blue standard of the Columbian Order, emblazoned with a golden eagle on one side, and the cap of Liberty, surrounded with stars, on the reverse. This year, also, various new customs seem to have crept in. A special meeting was called to elect officers, the object apparently being to secure those known to be in favor of sundry reforms, including the permanent abandonment of the Indian insignia. Some fantastic titles seem also to have been temporarily bestowed on individual members, for what reason does not clearly appear. Thus we find that New York men are designated as Sachems of other States; as, for instance, Clarkson Crolius, appears in the journalistic reports of the day as Sachem of North Carolina, or as representing the Buffalo tribe; Garrett Sickles as Sachem of the Delaware tribe; Stephen Allen as of the New Jersey, or Tortoise tribe, the purpose, apparently being to have all the original thirteen States represented, whether members from those tribes were personally present or not. At this time Mr. Mooney was again Grand Sachem, and Peter Embury was Father of the Council.

While the war continued the Tammany Society loyally maintained its original position of friend and helper to the Government, taking every opportunity to honor the gallant men on land and sea who were personally meeting the enemy on the field, on the deck, or in the shrouds of torn and shattered vessels. A number of its members served in military capacities, among whom may be mentioned Clarkson Crolius, who became Major of the Twenty-seventh Regiment,

United States Infantry. A recent writer* has gone so fully into descriptions of military and civic banquets and honorary receptions at this period that we refer our readers for such details to his pages, and will give here only one instance of many such which occurred, in which the Tammany Society either led or took a prominent part. At the public funeral of Captain James Lawrence and his brave officer, Ludlow, which took place in September, 1813, the Tammany Society issued the following call to its members:

September 15, 1813.

BROTHERS:

You are once more called upon to exhibit public testimonials of respect to the heroic dead. Local or party distinctions** find no place in the bosom of a single son of the heroic Tammany on this occasion.

The Society are especially requested to attend at Tammany Hall to-morrow morning precisely at nine o'clock, with their usual badge of mourning for departed heroes slain in battle, viz., a red ribbon edged with black, worn on the left arm. The design is to join the other societies in solemnizing the tribute of funereal respect to these heroes, Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow, who fell gloriously in defending their country's right and the National honor.

The bodies will arrive at the Battery precisely at ten o'clock, under the direction of the honorable corporation of the city.

By order of the President.

JAMES W. LENT,
BENJAMIN ROMAINE.
ABRAHAM STAGG,
Committee of Arrangements.

But it was not alone in funeral ceremonies that Tammany paid its respects to the heroes of the country. At banquets and balls its members were always ready. One of the finest entertainments given during this period to civic, military or naval men was the public dinner given by the Tammany Society to Commodore Perry, on the 11th of January, 1814, at their own hall, which the Commodore came from Newport specially to attend.

In 1814, at the grand annual festival of the Society, the Vice-President of the United States, Hon. Elbridge Gerry, was present at the Wigwam. Mr. Rodman was the orator of the day.

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* R. S. Gurnsey, in his interesting work, "New York City and Vicinity in 1812—15."

** Captain Lawrence who was a member of the "Order of the Cincinnati."

CHAPTER XV.

GENERAL JACKSON AT A TAMMANY BANQUET.



CCASIONALLY at some of these banquets unreconciled partisans would meet, and curious contretemps were liable to occur if the managers of the entertainment were not sufficiently wary. An amusing instance of this kind happened on one occasion in which General Andrew Jackson was the principal figure. This took place after the close of the war, and when General Jackson's fame rested only on his military achievements, particularly his grand success in the battle of New Orleans, and before his statesman-like qualities had been afforded any opportunity for their display. Just at this time in New York there was, politically speaking, war between the supporters of De Witt Clinton and the regular Tammany organization, and, as a national election was approaching, the feeling of antagonism between the parties became intensified. On the anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 22d, 1819, the Tammany men, or "bucktails," as they were still generally called, were indulging in their annual banquet when General Andrew Jackson happened to visit New York. He was naturally hailed as the successful commander who had closed the war with Great Britain by the most brilliant victory of the whole contest.

His name had not yet, however, become a party war cry, though he was known to be a whole-souled Democrat, and some of the more astute politicians were already contemplating the possibility of presenting him in the near future as a candidate for the highest office in the land. Thus it became a matter of interest to secure his friendship and the prestige of his name, keeping him away if possible, from all contamination by the Clintonite faction.

On the day of his arrival in New York he had been greeted with an official reception by the civic authorities, and had been formally presented with the freedom of the city. Later he was invited and had accepted an invitation to dine at Tammany Hall, and was received by the assembled company with immense enthusiasm. The entertainment had been prepared with all the elegance, regardless of expense, of which the caterers of those days were capable; in the language of the local press, "it was superb." As the evening advanced, and toasts were in order, the following rather high-flown compliment, in the shape of a toast, was proposed in honor of the distinguished guest: "To General Jackson—'So long as the Mississippi rolls its waters to the Ocean, so long may his great name and glorious deeds be remembered.'"

But what was the chagrin and consternation of the company when the General, in his most expressive manner and with his clear resonant voice, responded to the toast by proposing the health of De Witt Clinton, "Governor of this great and patriotic State of New York!" Jackson, it was clear, had not been studying the local politics of New York City. The confusion which followed this malapropos suggestion was so great, the surprise and excitement so intense, that Jackson, totally unprepared for such a result, incontinentally

withdrew from the banquet and precipitately left the hall. Fitz-Greene Halleck, the popular poet, and who has through his charming verses descended to our day, could not resist the temptation, in his semi-comic satirical way, to describe the contretemps in a sparkling little poem entitled, "The Secret Mine Sprung at a Late Supper." One verse ran thus:

"The songs were good, for Mead and Hawkins sung them,
The wine went round, 'twas laughter all and joke—
When crack! the General sprang a mine among them,
And beat a safe retreat amid the smoke.
As fall the sticks of rockets when we fire them,
So fell the Bucktails at that toast accurst,
Looking like Korah, Dathan and Abirim,
When the firm earth beneath their footsteps burst."

CHAPTER XVI.

TRINITY CHURCH RIOT.

De Witt Clinton Offends Tammany.

THE relations between Tammany and De Witt Clinton had formerly been altogether different. Jackson had probably known of him as an honored member of the Society, which he was for many years; he had even been Scribe to the Council, and in 1795 Tammany had publicly supported him for the Assembly, but about 1810 the ultra-Democrats began to feel that he was exhibiting certain aristocratic tendencies, very much disapproved of by the Democratic spirit inherent in the Order. In 1811 when De Witt Clinton was Mayor of New York, the disaffection toward him reached its climax, which was greatly intensified by a peculiar incident which was not indeed a strictly political affair, but which very clearly brought out the political sympathies and affinities of all the parties concerned—including De Witt Clinton. This was a College Commencement, and it has passed into local history as "The Trinity Church Riot." It appears that in 1796 the Faculty of Columbia College had passed a resolution obliging students to submit all manuscripts intended for public reading to the examination of a designated member of the Faculty, but without attaching any penalty for the infraction of this new rule. On the occasion in question a young man named J. B. Stevenson, subsequently well known as a successful medical practitioner, was one of the graduating class, and was appointed one of the disputants in a political debate forming part of the public exercises, which were to be held in Trinity Church. Now it happened that the conservative Reverend Dr. Wilson was of the committee on preliminary examination of manuscripts, and had objected to the phrase in young Stevenson's paper thus expressed: "Representatives ought to act according to the sentiments of their constituents." The Professor required Mr. Stevenson to alter or modify this sentence. The student strenuously objected, on the ground that in Commencement exercises only correct principles should be delivered. No promises were made, but on Commencement Day Stevenson read his manuscript as originally written.

When his name was called to come forward for his diploma, and he had advanced to receive it, the President refused to give it to him, though he had been a good student and of exemplary conduct. When this action was perceived Stevenson was immediately surrounded by his friends, and, prompted by them, he audibly demanded his diploma as of right. One of the Professors, thinking to smooth the matter over, or perhaps draw from the young man an apology, remarked, "You probably forgot it," but Stevenson was no such trimmer as to avail himself of any such contemptible mode of retreat, and boldly, but respectfully, answered: "No, I did not forget, but I would not utter what I did not believe." Still the President refused to hand over the diploma. Stevenson, naturally somewhat irritated, suddenly turned to the audience, and in a clear,

strong voice, exclaimed: "Ladies and gentlemen, I am refused my degree, not from any literary deficiency, but because I refused to speak the sentiments of others as my own." The sensation produced by this simple statement was extraordinary. One of the alumni present, Mr. Hugh Maxwell, went on the improvised stage to defend Stevenson's course, and he condemned the attitude of the Faculty in terms which to them appeared very offensive language. Then a well-known citizen, Mr. Verplanck, ascended the platform and asked the provost, Dr. Mason, "why he refused a degree which had been fairly earned by years of faithful study?" Dr. Mason replied that it was "because Mr. Stevenson had not complied with the order of Dr. Wilson to alter his manuscript." "The reason is not satisfactory, sir," replied Mr. Verplanck. "Mr. Maxwell must be sustained; I move that a vote of thanks be tendered to Mr. Maxwell for his defense of Mr. Stevenson and of the right of free speech." The excitement at this point became intense. Dr. Mason tried in vain to restore order, and he afterward testified that he was greeted with a hiss, "that in manner and quality would not disgrace a congregation of snakes on Snake Hill in New Jersey." He had to retire from the platform. The police finally restored some degree of order, but the exercises were abruptly concluded amid much confusion. A few days later the Faculty published what they called a "Vindication" of their course. This brought out a rejoinder from members of the graduating class and others, which so exasperated the already inflamed feelings of the Faculty that they caused a complaint to be laid before the Grand Jury. This led to the indictment of seven of the persons who had interrupted the College exercises. Of course, Stevenson, Maxwell and Verplanck were included in the number.

The case was called in the August term of what was then known as the Mayor's Court, and over which De Witt Clinton ex-officio presided. The charge against the defendants was "riot." Verplanck and Maxwell defended themselves; the others employed counsel, including such legal talent as David B. Ogden, Josiah O. Hoffman and Peter A. Jay. Dr. Mason, the chief complainant, was perhaps the most popular, as he was certainly one of the most learned and eloquent preachers of the day; and at that period all clergymen were treated with far more conventional deference than is now customary, so that Dr. Mason's dignity was terribly hurt by the public rebuff which he had received from the students, and the sharp rebukes administered by their friends; he was consequently anxious to secure the conviction of the indicted parties. The latter were ably defended, but, as the result proved, they labored before a deeply prejudiced Judge. Counsellor Jay had argued that under "Hawkins's (an acknowledged authority) definition," there had been no "riot," and that in equity, if the Faculty allowed political debates by the students, they should be permitted to utter their own thoughts, and not be compelled to utter the words of others, like parrots; that the college authorities had, in fact, no case, for the rule to which they referred as having been broken by Stevenson had no penalty attached, and was for that reason null and of no effect. In truth, as in public estimation, it was not the students but the Faculty which was on trial, it was they who had caused the trouble. But all of Jay's eloquence was in vain. Clinton's sympathies were all on the side of the college authorities. He declared that Hawkins's definition was bad, that Verplanck's moving a vote of thanks to Maxwell was "matchless insolence," and,

after many more severe strictures upon the defendants, he charged the jury to bring in a verdict of "guilty," which they did. Verplanck and Maxwell were fined two hundred dollars each, and required to find sureties for their good behavior, and it was openly said that Clinton had really mediated imposing a sentence of imprisonment, but that a friend, a keen observer of the public temperament, had assured the Mayor that "the people wouldn't stand it." The public dissent even over the imposition of such a heavy fine was very freely expressed, especially among the members of Tammany, and indeed all of the Madisonian Democrats. Just at this period the country was on the verge of war with England. Madison and Clinton were both Candidates for the Presidency. Clinton, though calling himself a Democrat, was accused of intriguing to procure the aid of the Federalists, and the course he took as judge in this trial was supposed to have been dictated by his desire to please that party—particularly some of its leaders, then including John Jay, Rufus King and Governeur Morris.

Dr. Mason was a bigoted Federalist and an active prompter of meetings between Clinton and the Federal leaders; but the main object of these consultations fell through, in a great measure, on account of John Jay's disgust when he heard Clinton affirm "that he had never sympathized with the Democrats, but had always favored the policy of Adams," which statement Jay knew was utterly false, for Clinton had at one time denounced the Federal leaders as "men who would rather lead in hell than serve in heaven"—words which, when uttered, had run throughout the length and breadth of the country like wildfire.

As time went on the breach between Tammany and De Witt Clinton continued to widen. A newspaper of the day, a year later, published the following:

"A meeting was got up in Martling's Long Room, a public house fronting the park, called Tammany Hall, which was claimed as the Democratic headquarters for the city of New York. Mr. Teunis Wortman, who was the protége of Mr. Clinton during the struggle with Col. Burr, was one of the most busy spirits in gathering and exciting the opposition on this occasion. At this meeting Mangle Minthorn, the father-in-law of Governor Tompkins, presided, and John Bingham was secretary. They adopted a preamble, which set forth that they believed Mr. Clinton was cherishing interests distinct and separate from the general interests of the Democratic party, and determined to establish in his own person a pernicious family aristocracy; that devotion to his person had been in a great measure made the exclusive test of merit, and the only passport to promotion; that the meeting had strong reasons to believe he opposed the election of Mr. Madison to the Presidency of the United States, and that they could no longer consider him a member of the Democratic party."

The experiences of the war period, 1812-15, had naturally intensified the feeling of the Democrats against those who had criticised war measures or shown themselves in any way friendly to British interests. As a specimen of the lively partisan appeals in vogue at that day, witness the following appeal issued by the Tammany party just preceding the spring elections of 1815: "Democrats, do you wish again to see this city in the hands of Tories, to be governed by traitors and cowards? [De Witt Clinton had just been removed from the Mayoralty.] To behold the trophies which your valor and perseverance have won, in a most glorious and successful war, transferred to the base hirelings of England? If you wish to see this, remain at home, indulge in idle repose, and, by your own indifference and supineness, let the Federal ticket prevail.

"If, on the contrary, you really desire to see Democracy triumphant and the city in the hands of firm and decided friends of Liberty and Independence

awake! arouse from your lethargy, and rally all your forces; you have only to come forth on this day and the election is surely yours. To the polls, then, every man of you; devote the whole of this last day to the salvation of your country."

This public impassioned appeal strongly marks the difference in method which now prevails in getting out a full vote to sustain Tammany Hall nominations; but that the Democrats were not losing any ground at that time is evident from the records. Valentine's Manual for 1854, in a reminiscent article, says: "About 1816 the Federalist party seemed to be almost extinct," and adds, "In 1820 the Bucktails carried every ward in the city."

One of the standing complaints against the Federal party by the Democrats had been the acceptance by the former of "Jay's Treaty" with Great Britain. When it was publicly announced that he had surrendered the important point "that free ships covered free goods," there was strong condemnation of the treaty, not only by Tammany Hall, but by all the mercantile interests of the country. Tammany passed some very strong resolutions on the subject The only excuse that Jay could offer was, and it was probably correct, that "at that time he could get no bettter."

Though Tammany's remarkable tenacity of life is shown in its plus-century of existence, it has for the greater part of that time not only had its external enemies, but at intervals internal factions and domestic divisions, usually ending, however, by a return of the malcontents to the council fires of the old wigwam. During the first three decades of the present century one of the chief aims of the Society was to procure the repeal of the law requiring a property qualification in the voter. After 1821 the law was modified, so as to extend the right of suffrage to all householders paying rent to the value of twenty-five dollars monthly.

But nothing less than manhood suffrage could satisfy the democratic sentiments of the members of the Columbian Order. They continued to besige the Legislature, and in 1834 succeeded in procuring the removal of the last vestige of a money qualification. In this year also, mainly through the efforts of Tammany, the people of the State of New York obtained a new constitutional law, giving to the people the right to elect some seven thousand State officers, which were previously appointed by the Governor and Council, including the Mayor and City Judges. The fact seems almost incredible now that the Mayor of the City of New York was, for the first time, elected by its citizens so late as 1834, and it was Tammany's nominee, Cornelius W. Lawrence, who was chosen, the Whig candidate being Mr. Verplanck. For the next succeeding thirty years Tammany furnished New York with its Mayors, and for the following twenty years, up to 1880, seven additional, the exceptions being divided between Native American candidates, Whigs and Republicans.

The most vehement calumniators must admit, for it cannot be successfully denied, that in the course of its history Tammany has numbered in its ranks many of the most distinguished men of the country, and not a few of those who are now its severest critics do not hesitate to ascribe what they are pleased to call its "degeneration" to that extension of the suffrage to non-property holders which Tammany was so active in procuring. An eventful case which occurred in 1801, in which Tammany was greatly interested, will illustrate the great injustice which might and often did happen under the old exclusive laws. Among the members of Tammany at this time were thirty-nine young men of good character and intel-

ligence, but non-freeholders; they were nearly all students of Columbia College. They all desired to vote at a certain election, but the property qualification stood in their way. To overcome this difficulty they combined their slender funds and purchased a piece of real estate, with a modest house upon it, so that each could truly affirm that he was a freeholder. Their votes were, however, refused at the polls. New York was not then quite so large as it is now, and the transfer of even a small piece of real estate was sure to draw the attention of all the idlers about town. The case, however, was taken to court, but the judges just then being Federalists, naturally decided against the aspiring young men—the name of one of the latter happened to be Daniel D. Tompkins, afterward Governor of the State of New York, the "War Governor" during the war of 1812-15, who was thus disfranchised.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE "WAR GOVERNOR" OF 1812.



HE career of DANIEL D. TOMPKINS was so intimately connected with the affairs of Tammany that a brief sketch of his lifework cannot be out of place here. His manly and patriotic course is an instructive illustration of the injustice of requiring of American-born citizens any definite amount of property as a qualification for the exercise of the franchise. Daniel D. Tompkins was born in Westchester County, New York, in 1774. He received a good education and graduated with the highest honors at Columbia College; he was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-four, when he commenced the practice of law in the City of New York. He was elected to the State Assembly in 1802 and to Congress two years later. In 1805 he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court and in 1807 was elected Governor of the State, and was successively re-elected to that office until 1817, when he was elected to the Vice-Presidency before he was thirty-three years of age. It was while he was Governor of New York that the War of 1812 was commenced and concluded. New York State was the principal point of attack of the British, and was the most vulnerable on account of its location. Access to its northern and northwestern portions was easy by the lakes from Canada; its southeastern shores were tempting to a British fleet; while its eastern borders were threatened by the semi-concealed enemies in the shape of unpatriotic Federalists, the New England States being then on the verge of secession, and so friendly with the enemy that Decatur, with his three much-needed frigates, was kept blockaded in Long Island Sound during nearly the whole period of hostilities by signals given to the British fleet lying off New London by sympathizers on the Connecticut shore, the traitorous "blue lights" informing the enemy of every attempt which Decatur made to escape to the open sea. All this time the National Government was much embarrassed, not only for men, but money, and it was to Governor Tompkins that appeals came for assistance, just as at a later day they came to Governor Seymour. Tompkins made almost superhuman efforts, not only to raise a force to repel attacks, but to provide funds.

The banks declined to lend money on either the bonds or Treasury notes of the National Government. Governor Tompkins had, early in the war, advanced all his available means for the patriot cause, but was soon called to do more—to risk his credit to the extent of $500,000. The banks caused the Governor to be informed that on his security they would advance that sum to the Government On first hearing this proposition he exclaimed, "But I shall be ruined!" On a little reflection, however, this unselfish patriot decided to take the risk of being ruined rather than see his country overrun by the British, and perhaps conquered or divided—a not improbable result, as a large party then in New England were almost ready to accept a British protectorate. Governor Tompkins signed his name for the half-million loan, and thus materially strengthened the President's hands in the most effectual way, and gave new courage to the patriotic party

throughout the country. A half million dollars went a great way in those days. Not only did Governor Tompkins give his money and lend his credit to the service of his country, but his time and personal attention were not spared. He traveled through the length and breadth of the State for the purpose of influencing and encouraging local bodies to do their whole duty in raising men for the defense of the commonwealth, repulsing attacks or attacking the enemy, as opportunity offered. Nor did he content himself with standing aloof and issuing orders He was seen more than once "assisting with his own hands in prying from the mud, wagons loaded with war supplies delayed on the road."

President Madison offered Governor Tompkins a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State, but this honorable position he declined. A little later Madison appointed him (October, 1814) to the command of the Third Military District, which included New York, in which position he earned great praise for the executive ability which he displayed, as well as for all the multiplied duties performed in that responsible office; but praise and compliments were all the recompense he ever received for these and other arduous services faithfully fulfilled for the benefit of his country. Tompkins was a great favorite with Tammany, and it was with the utmost enthusiam that the Society indorsed the Congressional caucus nomination of this patriot son of New York for Vice-President, in association with that of James Monroe for President. Both of these nominees were elected, and both re-elected, almost unanimously, in 1821.

To Daniel D. Tompkins, more than to any other one man, the State of New York was indebted for limiting the injuries inflicted by the British in the War of 1812. With a less energetic or less patriotic Governor the whole State, from the bay to Lake Erie, would probably have been overrun by the enemy. Daniel Tompkins died on Staten Island in the early summer of 1825. Tompkinsville, on Staten Island, was named in his honor, as was also Tompkins County in the State of New York, one of the forts at the Narrows, Tompkins Square in New York City and Tompkins Avenue and Tompkins Square in Brooklyn. It is but justice to that able and patriotic Federal Senator, Rufus King, of New York, to here recognize the fact that he cordially supported Governor Tompkins in all of his war measures.

Next to Governor Tompkins there was no private citizen in the City of New York that so efficiently aided the Government in financial matters as did Mr. Jacob Barker. He was one of the original members of the Tammany Society and an active member during the whole of his long residence here. His name is inscribed on the cornerstone of the old wigwam, erected in 1811, as one of the building committee. A native of the State of Maine, he came in early youth to the City of New York and entered into the commission house of Mr. Isaac Hicks, where his diligence and capacity were so conspicuous that he soon obtained the opportunity to engage in business on his own account, and before he was twenty-one he was the owner of five coasting vessels, besides having a large credit in the mercantile community. But fortune turned against him, and by various mishaps he lost nearly all he had made just before the beginning of the present century. He was not a person, however, to remain long depressed. He succeeded in obtaining a contract for supplying the Government with oil, of which at that time tury. He was not a person, however, to remain long depressed. He succeeded in connection with the public service. Out of this contract he made very large

profits. When the War of 1812 broke out the Government, as above stated, was very much embarrassed for money, and in February, 1813, Congress endeavored to put a loan of $16,000,000 upon the market; the banks had refused their assistance, and Mr. Barker undertook the almost hopeless task of raising this large sum. He commenced by subscribing $100,000 himself, and finally raised the whole amount, by the most unwearied efforts among the merchants and other citizens of the metropolis. Not content with this grand service to his country, he subsequently raised an additional $5,000,000, of which he personally took $435,000, and his friend, the poet, Fitzgreen Halleck, who had then some business connection with him, was credited with $288,000, a most opportune help to the impecunious administration at Washington.

After the close of the war Mr. Barker was elected to the State Senate, and, as at that period the Senate sat as a judicial court in some cases, there was an opportunity to show the mental calibre of members quite unknown to our modern legislators. A legal opinion rendered by Mr. Barker on an insurance case, when sitting in the Court of Errors, was sustained, though opposed by the great authority of Chancellor Kent. Jacob Barker was an expert writer of newspaper articles, and published also many timely brochures, as well as being ever ready for a speech when called upon. He founded a newspaper called the *Union*, mainly for the purpose of assisting the election of Governor Clinton. In 1815 he established the Exchange Bank in Wall street, and commenced stock speculations. This bank failed, but the trust in his integrity was such that other financial institutions came to his rescue, and all was soon again serene. He subsequently removed his business to New Orleans, but died in Philadelphia, at the ripe age of 92. He was the last surviving member of the Building Committee on the erection of the Nassau street Wigwam, to which he was appointed in 1800.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TAMMANY ON HOME INDUSTRIES.



NE of the most curious and interesting episodes in the history of the ultra-Democratic Society of Tammany was the action taken by it in the summer of 1819 and which was the result of the depressed condition of trade and commerce throughout the country, which had not yet recovered from the losses and interruptions incurred during the War of 1812-15, which included the capture of many vessels, with their cargoes, and the still more injurious effects of the "embargo." But to the facts: On August 30th, at a meeting of the Tammany Society, after considerable discussion, was passed the following resolution: "Resolved to appoint Commissioners to consider and draft an address on the subject of National Economy and Domestic Manufactures, enforcing the necessity of encouraging such desirable objects, and that through the public prints the address be sent to the several branches of this Society throughout the nation."

On the next ensuing October 4th the address, which had been drafted by Brother Woodward was presented to the Society, and duly debated at the meetings. At the second it was adopted, signed by the Grand Sachem, Clarkson Crolius, printed and put into circulation.

On the next ensuing October 4th, the address, which had been drafted by had partly resulted from excessive importations and recommended the purchase of home productions only. The curious statement was also made that inferior goods were manufactured abroad expressly for this market, with intent to dispose of them in New York by auction, thus underselling our native merchants. Secondly, the opinion was advanced that Congress ought to entirely prohibit the importation of all goods "which can on any tolerable terms be made here." And, "thirdly, if the customs revenue, in consequence, is not sufficient for the purposes of the Government, let the public lands be appropriated to supply the deficiency." The concluding argument was that this course would exclude from the country foreign agents, "those cormorants" who gather money here only to take it back, out of this country.

Some recommendations were added on the subject of banks and in favor of common schools, concluding with a somewhat grandiloquent eulogy of the Tammany Society, which the author of the address declares "is founded upon the dignified principle of public liberty. Unlike the associations of the hour, which have gone down with the causes which created them, this Society has withstood the revolutions of the passing years uncharacterized by any acts of extravagance or appearance of dissolution. * * * Its silent intervals have been owing to the solidity of its principles and the sincerity of its motives. It is a Society of three thousand [1819] men in the City of New York alone, principally heads of families. It can well rest occasionally, quiet on the bosom of public opinion."

Though this address speaks of the "quiet intervals" which Tammany was

wont to indulge in, there was very little going on of any public interest in which Tammany had not an active share. Thus, on the death of Benjamin Franklin, though the event occurred in Philadelphia, the Tammany Society held public ceremonies in honor of the aged patriot, statesman and scientist. In 1824 the Society took an active and prominent part in welcoming the "Nation's Guest," Lafayette, to the country he had so nobly helped to render independent. In 1830 the Tammany Society celebrated with considerable éclat the revolution in France against that Bourbon of the Bourbons, Charles X. A meeting was called at Tammany Hall on November 25th, at which President Monroe presided, and at which was present a large number of distinguished citizens, including the able statesman and eminent anti-Federalist, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under both Jefferson and Madison, with many other persons of approximate celebrity.



CHAPTER XIX.

THE ANTI-MASONIC PARTY.



T seems now almost incredible that a political party could be formed upon the single idea of opposition to an ancient secret and benevolent society which existed not only in every State in the Union, but also every portion of the civilized world. Yet from a single act of violence perpetrated in the State of New York in 1826, known to history as "the Morgan affair," the details of which it is not necessary to repeat here, thousands of persons deserted the usual political affiliations and actually inaugurated a new party, with no other ostensible object than the ostracism of all members of the Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons. This movement was far-reaching, and it could not fail to have some effect upon the Tammany Society, but events finally proved that its main strength came from Tammany's opponents. It was through this new party that William H. Seward was first brought prominently into notice, he being nominated by and elected to the State Legislature by the Anti-Masonic vote. The matter was complicated by the fact that De Witt Clinton, the ever-chronic candidate for some office in the State, and popular with his party, was, in the very year of this outbreak, High Priest of the General Grand Chapter of the United States. Andrew Jackson was also a Mason of high order; of course, also other representative men of all parties and of no party were members of the Order. The excitement spread and grew for several years. In 1828 the Anti-Masons called a general convention, which met at Le Roy, in the Western part of the State, in which twelve counties were represented, but there was only one plank in the platform on which they stood, yet, at the ensuing election for Governor, this curious party actually cast over 33,000 votes, not enough, however, to defeat the Tammany candidate, Martin Van Buren, who was elected.

As the Presidential election approached in 1828 the Anti-Masonic party joined their forces with the National Republicans, and voted for Mr. Adams, who was not a Mason; but General Jackson received the electoral vote. Though defeated in the Presidential contest, in the State election of 1831 the Anti-Masons elected nearly thirty members of Assembly, and in 1832 even nominated a Presidential candidate, William Wirt.

Though the Anti-Masonic party showed wonderful tenacity of life, especially in the western counties of the State, yet no party can possibly become permanent resting on mere negations; and the political enemies of the Masonic Order had no worthy affirmative principles. Its end was as remarkable as its origin.

When the National Republican party lost its distinctive name, and became visible only as the Whig organization, the Anti-Masons suddenly disappeared—the Whigs appeared to have swallowed them. From that time forward the leaders presented no ticket for their whilom followers to sustain, much to the discomfiture of the innocent rural population who had followed their leaders in this Quixotic fight so zealously, and who were not enlightened as to the "arrangement" which involved such a sudden extinguishment of their superior political ethics.

The first person in New York City to formally introduce the name of "Whig" for the acceptance of the anti-Democratic politicians was Col. J. Watson Webb, editor of the *Courier and Inquirer*, who, at a public meeting in the fall of 1833, after having dilated, somewhat at length on the meaning and attitude of Whigism in England, made a motion that the party (National Republican) then and there accept the name of "Whig" as expressing their disapprobation of the Administration (Jackson's). The motion was put to the audience and carried in the affirmative, almost unanimously.

Mr. Myron H. Clark, who was elected Governor by a combination of all the anti-Tammany elements, including the Prohibitionists, has been aptly described as the "discovered link," he combining the elements in his career of figuring as the last of the Whigs and the first of the Republicans.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LOCO FOCOS.



NE of the most singular cases of general misunderstanding, through the misapplication of a grotesque name to a very earnest and sincere party, is that which developed at the time of the formation of the "Equal Rights" association, which for years was called the "Loco Focos."

This meaningless term was applied to certain dissenters in the Tammany Society through a mere incident which occurred at a meeting in the old Wigwam on Nassau street in 1835, under the following circumstances: On the 29th of October a meeting was called to assemble in Tammany Hall for the purpose of making certain nominations. The doors being open at seven in the evening, a great mass of the usual attendants rushed in and rapidly filled all the available space, but what was their surprise to find that they were not the first arrivals; the platform was already filled with those prepared to manage the meeting and secure the adoption of their own candidates. From the early comers in possession of the meeting, Isaac L. Varian was nominated as chairman, and without the question being properly put, he prepared to take his seat; when, from the floor of the house, the Equal Rights men nominated Joel Curtis for the chair. At the same time a broad banner was uplifted on which was the inscription, "Joel Curtis, the anti-monopolistic Chairman." The confusion caused by this unexpected apparition was so great that Mr. Varian's effort to read the prearranged list of nominations was futile, so far as the hearing of the names was concerned. While the excitement was at its height, the Hall was suddenly immersed in darkness. Each of the factions present thought the opposition had planned this manœuvre as a piece of fine strategy, and the incident has been so represented by some narrators; but, in fact, it was nothing of the kind, it was only the suddenly inspired trick of two young lads, one of whom was not more than fifteen years of age, and both of whom, now elderly men, are still living (1898) and not averse to telling the story. At that time the gas-meter was located on the Frankfort street side of the Hall, concealed from view by some decorative window drapery, but well known to these lads. When the lights were extinguished the Varian party got out of the Hall as quickly as possible, taking the rear egress by which they had entered, retreating to an adjoining tavern of much local celebrity, known as the "Pewter Mug," situated on Frankfort street, and there completed their nominations; while the Equal Rights party retained possession of the Hall, and in a very few moments, having produced matches from their pockets, and the janitor being found, they relit the gas, and the business for which they had assembled was proceeded with. The next morning the term "Loco Foco" was spontaneously attached to the party holding the Hall, which name, for a long period, to the uninitiated, served to describe the whole Tammany Society, just as a local event had in former years fixed upon them the sobriquet of "Bucktails."

The Equal Rights party was certainly born in Tammany Hall, and for a limited time claimed to be the only true representative of that purely Democratic association: it was, in fact, an ultra development and outgrowth of the "Workingmen's" party, which had broken off from the parent stem in 1828, lasting about two years. The Equal Rights party arose directly out of the Presidential election of 1832, when all Democratic candidates were pledged to eternal hostility to monopolies of all kinds. Certain members of Tammany had begun to suspect that their leaders were not seriously maintaining these sentiments, but were, on the contrary, acting in a very lenient manner toward certain corporations and individuals whom the pledges exacted, if fully carried out, would certainly put under the ban. And, perhaps, they were not altogether wrong. Mr. Varian, above referred to, was a bank director, and the person who nominated him, Mr. George D. Strong was president of the Commercial Bank. It was certainly a new thing for Tammany to be charged with favoring monopolists.

Among the persons most influential in this new offshoot from Tammany were Mr. George Evans, editor of the *Workingman's Advocate*, Prof. Gilbert Vale, of the *Beacon*, and William Leggett, then associate editor of the *Evening Post*.

Sustaining the old Tammanyites at this time were the Albany *Argus* and the New York *Times*, while the Washington *Globe* endeavored to read Mr. Leggett out of the Democratic party, as an agrarian and incipient abolitionist. The principal objects for which the Equal Rights party contended were—Opposition to bank charters granted by the States; in favor of a metallic currency; opposition to the United States Bank, as unconstitutional; hostility to all kinds of monopolies, favoring one class of people above others; in favor of giving the election of President and Vice-President to the direct vote of the people; one Presidential term; short terms of all offices, and strict responsibility to the people; the equal rights of all citizens. The charge which this ultra-reforming party made against Tammany of becoming aristocratic and favoring rich monopolists reads strangely as we recall that it was on these very grounds that Tammany repudiated one of her most distinguished members, De Witt Clinton, when suspected of these faults.

The new party called Equal Rights met in several different localities, but their more permanent headquarters was at the Military and Civic Hotel, on the corner of Broome street and the Bowery. The year after their withdrawal from the Wigwam they made independent nominations, having, at a general meeting in January, 1836, thus expressed their reasons for such action, namely: "That we no longer recognize Tammany Hall as a Democratic temple of true Democracy, nor the Tammany Society as a Democratic body; that the Society exercises a political as well as a proprietary control (See Chap. "Who Owns Tammany Hall?"), so that only such candidates, such politics and such usages as the Sachems approve can be permitted there," etc., etc.

In the charter election next ensuing the Equal Rights party nominated Alexander Ming, Jr., for Mayor. There were three other party nominations. Tammany nominated C. W. Lawrence, the Whigs Mr. Greer, and the Know-nothings Mr. Morse. The Tammany nominee was elected by a large majority. In the State election the Equal Rights party's nominee for Governor was Isaac S. Smith, who received a total of 3,496 votes, of which about 1,400 were polled in the city, some of the nominees of the latter having united with Tammany. In 1837 this party, still usually called Loco Focos, held several meetings in the City

Hall Park, for the purpose of denouncing what they called the bank monopolies, and also the forestallers of the necessaries of life. Times were very bad. All kinds of food, as well as fuel, were extremely dear; a barrel of flour cost $14, and coal the same amount a ton. It was believed that a ruinous course of legislation had caused much of the evil, especially the over-issue of paper money, as was tersely expressed at one of these meetings: "As the currency expands, the loaf contracts." While a meeting in the park was in progress some one, unrecognized at the time, forced his way among the crowd and shouted out: "Hart's flour store!" Mr. Hart was a wholesale merchant on Washington street. Nearly a thousand persons hanging on the margin of the meeting took up the cry and rushed off to the place indicated, and then followed the famous "flour riot." Mr. Hart's store was completely sacked, including the destruction of books and papers, as well as quantities of wheat and flour. Of course, there was an immense hue and cry raised by a portion of the city press, who were only too glad of the pretext to attribute the riot to the Loco Focos, some going so far as to charge the late nominee of that party for Mayor, Col. Ming, with having uttered the words, "Go to the flour stores. This was utterly false, and was so proven to the satisfaction of the authorities. Fifty-three of the rioters were arrested, not one of whom was a member of the Loco Foco or Equal Rights party. They proved to be simply idlers and vagrants, such as are always to be found in a large city, hanging on the outskirts of open-air meetings.

In the Legislative session of 1837, to which the Equal Rights party had succeeded in electing two members, one of whom was Mr. Clinton Roosevelt, the latter introduced a motion requesting the appointment of a committee to inquire into the usurious practices of some of the State banks. In the course of this inquiry two members of the Equal Rights party were summoned to Albany to testify. One of these happened to be named Slam—Levi D. Slam. Thereupon the New York *Herald*, with its unique talent for absurd sobriquets, added the euphonious word "Bang" to this gentleman, and thenceforward always mentioned the Equal Rights party as the firm of "Slam, Bang & Co.," as many old readers of the *Herald* will remember.

But it was about time for this truant faction to think of returning home. Its absence from Tammany had not been so complete but that many of its members attended occasionally at the meetings held in the Wigwam, when measures were to be considered with which these truants sympathized. One of the deserters, on being challenged on this apparent inconsistency, defended himself and brother Loco Focos by replying: "It is one of our maxims to go wherever our principles are maintained." This being so, a reunion could not long be deferred; the occasion came on the question of the Independent Treasury, as advocated by President Martin Van Buren. On the 21st of September, 1837, a meeting was called to take place at Tammany Hall on the 25th, "of all those opposed to the Message of the President." What was expected of these opponents did not clearly appear; whatever it was, the result showed that practically there were no opponents, though the call had been quite numerously signed. The friends of the President were in such a large majority that resolutions sustaining him were passed almost unanimously. The Equal Rights men were there and voted, not only in unity, but somewhat vociferously. Reunion with Tammany now began to be openly talked of, though the truants proceeded to make up a separate ticket

for the fall elections; but on the 24th of October, at a general meeting, a proposition was presented, "to effect the united support of the Democratic family in favor of one ticket."

Though strongly opposed by some members, negotiations were opened, and brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the Tammany Committee agreeing to nominate five members of the Equal Rights party on the general ticket. In the end, at a meeting of the latter, on the 28th of October, the following expression of opinion was adopted: "That the Equal Rights party have the fullest confidence in the ticket jointly nominated by the nominating committee at Tammany Hall, and by the Equal Rights party, and that we, as a party, adopt it as our ticket, and will use our best exertions to procure its entire election." This was carried by seventy-one votes to twenty-two. Here, in this early secession movement, and its end, is displayed one permanent element of Tammany's strength. That Society has always been ready to welcome its wanderers back; it never shuts the door in the face of returning prodigals, no matter how bitterly the latter may have fought against it during the seperation.

The following persons were those chiefly influential in forming and maintaining the Equal Rights schism: George Evans, William Leggett, Col. Alexander Ming, Gilbert Vale, Geo. W. Matsell, Isaac S. Smith, Robert Townsend, Stephen Hasbrouck, Dr. A. F. Vaché, Dr. Samuel Mitchell, Job Haskell, F. A. Tallmadge, John Windt and John Commerfort.



FRANCES WRIGHT.

CHAPTER XXI.

FRANCES WRIGHT.



MONG other absurd names which for a while was applied to the Equal Rights party was that of "Free Trade and Fanny Wright," which originated in this way: On one of the pre-election parades in which this faction indulged certain banners were carried bearing the inscription "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Some wicked wit suggested that it should be "Free trade and Fanny Wrights." How the name of this brilliant and earnest reformer came to be connected with a political party is easily explained, as she had just previously addressed large meetings in Tammany Hall on education, political economy and kindred topics. As for many years this lady was, in the popular mind, identified with Tammany Hall, a brief sketch of her life and work will not be out of place here.

Frances Wright (d'Aurusmont) was a native of Dundee, Scotland; her father was a Presbyterian clergyman. She was early attracted by the idea of a free Republic, and in 1820 made her first visit to this country, traveling extensively through the Northern and Southern States. On her return to Europe, then only twenty-two years of age, she published a book entitled, "Views of Society and Manners in America," which gave to Europeans the first really correct idea of life in the United States at that period, and it was through this work that she acquired the permanent friendship of Lafayette. In 1833 she returned to New York, and commenced a series of lectures, being the first woman in this country to address public audiences on political topics. Some of these addresses were given in Tammany Hall, the churches not then being open to women lecturers. All her public speeches were marked by a spirit of liberality of thought, and the desire to elevate and benefit the masses who came to listen to her. The thinking portion of her audiences greatly admired the progressive democratic spirit which she evinced. The rougher portion were often rude in their behavior, not foreseeing that in a few years women on the platform would cease to be a novelty. Frances Wright held advanced views on nearly all of the many ethical questions now so generally adopted by all intelligent people. Her favorite maxim was: "Humankind is but one family; the education of its youth should be equal and universal." It speaks well for the liberality of the Tammany Hall managers of that day that this brainy woman was granted the use of their platform. Visiting France on the invitation of Lafayette, she there met and subsequently married M. d'Aurusmont. Some years later she returned to the United States, and here published a number of works. Her publisher was a well-known member of Tammany Hall, Mr. John Windt. Frances Wright was an exceedingly regal-looking woman, very nearly six feet in height, with a fine intellectual head and features. She spoke, when very earnest, with a slight Scotch accent. She died in Cincinnati in 1852, at the age of fifty-five.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PATROONS.



NE of the subjects which greatly interested the Tammany Society was the feudal tenants' resistance to the collection of rents by the rich "patroons" occupying large estates on the banks of the Hudson River, which they had received by royal grants—some from the States-General of Holland, others from the British sovereign. The greater part of these lands lay in the Counties of Albany and Rensselaer, but there were also large tracts in the Counties of Columbia, Greene, Ulster, Sullivan, Delaware, Schoharie, Otsego, Montgomery and Schenectady; in fact, more or less in all of the counties on both easterly and westerly banks of the river. Those of these estates originally received by the protegés of the States-General of Holland, and now known as the Holland Patent, were re-transferred to the original owners by the British crown when these lands came into the possession of that government. The baronial holders let the land, except what they reserved for their own pleasure, to the agricultural population, upon perpetual leases, rents being payable in produce, poultry and by the rendition of personal service by men and teams. In brief, a system of ownership and labor such as was usual in the middle ages in Europe had been transported into, and was perpetuated in, the free republican State of New York down to 1846-7. Royal privileges were retained by the proprietors, who reserved to themselves all mill privileges, mines, minerals, and even the right of way, and the control of all waterways. And thus over the immense amount of land occupied by these patroons there could be no transfers of farm land without their consent, and naturally no increase of population by new settlers, no inducement to enterprise of any kind.

One of the largest estates of these feudal proprietors was that held by Stephen Van Rensselaer, which extended over a tract of land twenty-four miles long and forty-eight miles wide, lying on both sides of the Hudson River.

Others approximated to this in extent. It was on the occasion of the death of this proprietor of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, in 1839, that the Anti-Rent contest began in earnest. The tenants, most of whom were largely in arrears for rent, flatly refused to pay, on the ground (learned from their lawyers) that the leases in perpetuity, or for a certain number of lives, were legally conveyances in fee—simply encumbered with certain conditions; and that in reality they owned the land, and were not mere tenants in equity. Thus instructed, the desire and the intention to resist became infectious; and soon the whole tenant class in the other counties where the patroons ruled were in revolt. A State Committee was finally appointed to inquire into their grievances, of which Samuel J. Tilden was chairman. This course was taken in answer to petitions and memorials which had been presented to the Assembly. As time wore on without any practical relief, the disorder in the several counties widened and became more violent. Men disguised as Indians lay in ambush and waylaid officers who were suspected

of bearing distress warrants. The question entered politics, and the result was that the Anti-Rent men were elected to the Assembly. Bills and acts intended to redress the wrongs said to be imposed upon the people by the ruling patroons began to pour into the State House at Albany. The questions at issue excited interest in other States, as well as in the City of New York, and throughout the length and breadth of the land. The condition of land titles in the river counties was certainly opposed to the spirit of American law, which has always discouraged the entailment of landed property, which the patroon system especially cultivated.

If Tammany holds one democratic principal dearer than another it is the preservation of the American spirit, as opposed to everything mediæval and aristocratic; to antagonize the Europeanizing of this country was Tammany born, and to that work it has always been devoted. It may therefore be readily inferred that the Society put all its energy into sustaining the tenant claimants in their demands to be put upon an equal footing with other citizens of the State, who were free from the bondage of these antiquated "customs of the realm," derived from royal generosity in favor of a special class of settlers in a new country.

It was against the more violent anti-renters, who in some cases had been accused of incendiarism, that the term "barn-burners" was originally hurled, though later it was applied to quite another class of politicians.

The anomaly of feudal customs existing in the maintenance of these land tenures in the United States was finally wiped out by the Legislature by an equitable arrangement suggested by Mr. Tilden, which secured satisfactory compensation to the proprietors and left the farms in the hands of the occupants, with liberty to sell or retain, as they preferred; also to come and go at their own will and choice, like other agriculturists in the State—the last vestige of patroon right being abolished under the Governorship of Silas Wright.

[For full particulars of the legal proceedings in this matter, see Assembly documents of 1846.]

CHAPTER XXIII.

TAMMANY AND VAN BUREN.



AMMANY'S attitude toward Martin Van Buren varied at different periods. He was at first taken up by the Sachems, somewhat enthusiastically, in 1832, mainly because of the affront put upon him by the combination formed in Congress against him by the union of the "Clay Protectionists" and the Calhoun men, who, in the Senate, had rejected his nomination as Minister to England, apparently for no better reason than to annoy President Jackson, and it was largely due to the Tammany Society that Mr. Van Buren was elected President in 1836.

The principal measure which marked Van Buren's administration was the passage of the Independent Treasury bill, which was first introduced into the Senate by that sterling Democrat, Silas Wright, ably supported by Samuel J. Tilden. This bill was recognized as the favorite measure of the President, and was cordially indorsed by Tammany Hall. A large meeting of the Democrats of the county, as well as of the business men of the City of New York was held in the Wigwam on the 26th of February, 1836, on which occasion Mr Tilden made a stirring speech, advocating the complete severance of Bank and State. One line of his argument was that "the Government moneys would be safer in the hands of officers appointed by the Federal authority than in the hands of civilians, or simply business men," giving, in support of his opinion, the fact that "in the United States Mint there had not been a dollar lost in the last fifty years." "Men," said Mr. Tilden, "are more likely to assume debts which they cannot meet than they are to commit a felony." Tammany was an early and constant supporter of the free banking system. At a meeting, held on the 6th of February, resolutions were passed in favor of the Independent Treasury Bill, in these words:

"*Resolved*, That we require in banking no more than in government a monarch and privileged nobility to regulate our affairs, and that an application to finance of the principles of equal liberty, so successfully applied to politics, is imperatively required, etc.

"*Resolved*, That a general banking law, constructed on these obvious principles, ought to be enacted. It will close up the most fruitful source of legislative intrigue and corruption; it will prevent the fraud and favoritism practiced in the distribution of stock and remove a monopoly which, to the amount of the extra profit it confers, levies an indirect tax upon the unprivileged masses for the benefit of the few."

The Independent Treasury Act became a law June 30th, 1837.

Another very important act, in the interest of the people, was the passage of the pre-emption law, giving the preference to actual settlers in the sale of the public lands—a system always advocated by the Tammany Society.

Later, when the slavery question entered into the practical politics of the country, Martin Van Buren lost his hold on Tammany and became the candidate of the Free Soil wing of the Democracy. From 1850 to 1860 Tammany was, in national politics, mainly occupied in endeavoring "to save the Union." Like the conservative Whigs, it was willing to sacrifice much to prevent the threatened

secession of the Southern States, but, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, when that event really took place, none was more prompt in meeting the exigency than the members of the Tammany Society.

In the "forties," and extending into the succeeding decade, there was more than one disturbing element in city politics. The Native-American party began to make itself felt. The Tammany Society has always been the strongest possible advocate of American principles, but also opposed the ideas of the Know-nothing, or Native-American party, as understood in politics; that is, the doctrine that none but native-born Americans should be entrusted with office. This sentiment, however, was very strong, not only in New York, but nearly all over the country, for a limited period. The idea was advocated in Congress. Members of Assembly were elected in New York, and in other States, to carry out, so far as they could the measures proposed by this new organization. Even in the City of New York, in 1844, its advocates were able to elect their candidate for Mayor, the gentleman chosen being the senior member of the publishing firm of Harper Brothers, Mr. James Harper.

But another subject of dissension was rising, destined to extinguish the Know-nothing and nearly all other questions upon which parties, or individual statesmen, differed. This was the question of the extension of slavery, arising approximately out of the proposition to admit Texas, then an independent Republic, into the Union as a State. Though Texas had won its practical independence from Mexico by force of arms, yet Mexico had not acknowledged this independence or ceased to claim sovereign rights over that lost territory. Hence to admit this revolted province of Mexico into the Union of the States must inevitably precipitate hostilities with this neighboring power; there was, nevertheless, a strong party which upheld the measure within Congress and out of it.

There was, however, a very strong opposition to it. Nearly all the Northern statesmen of the Whig side in politics viewed the annexation project unfavorably, and on this question Van Buren stood on very nearly the same ground as the conservative Whigs of the New England States. Back of the prospective war, however, was a sentiment stronger than any sense of justice to Mexico or repugnance to war; this was opposition to the extension of slavery in the United States. A large and growing party in the North was immovably fixed against any action by Congress which would increase the area of the slave States, which it was foreseen the admission of Texas would do.

Of course, the Southern politicians naturally favored it. As Tammany always took its share in the large questions of the day, it could not ignore this, and upon it the body of the Society was divided in opinion.

In 1846 adhesion to, or rejection of the "Wilmot Proviso" became the dividing line in the Democratic party in New York, as elsewhere throughout the States, and also in Congress. The object of this proviso was to prohibit the introduction of slavery into any territory acquired by purchase or otherwise from Mexico, which included the present State of California. It was Mr. Van Buren's attitude on this point which cost him the loss of the Democratic nomination for President and gave it to James K. Polk, two years previously, in 1844. It was this question of the extension of slavery which made the first formidable split in the Tammany Society. Other divisions had been healed without much difficulty, but this became to that, as to other parties, the "irreconcilable conflict," carrying

out of the Wigwam some of their most valued members, a number of whom did, indeed, return after the war, while others were permanently lost to the organization.

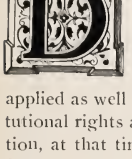
It is worth noting, in this connection, that all the territory added to the United States since the adoption of the Constitution had been acquired under Democratic administrations, except Alaska.* So that we are justified in the logical conclusion that, but for Democratic energy and foresight, the country to-day would still consist only of the original thirteen States, with the addition of the semi-Russianized peninsula in the North Pacific Ocean. The Whig party fought against the admission of the lands acquired from Mexico, which included Texas and California, just as the old Federalists contended against Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana, the boundaries of which then included all the States generally spoken of as "the great Northwest."

During this exciting period a powerful auxiliary to the political power of Tammany Hall existed in an association called the "Empire Club." Its president and leader was the "undaunted" Isaiah Rynders, who first acquired local fame by his energetic and effectual work in the Presidential campaign preceding the election of James K. Polk. This club had rooms at 28 Park Row, and there never were livelier times around the polls in New York than during the Rynders régime. He continued as active leader of a powerful following for many years, giving his best efforts to the election of Franklin Pierce in 1852 and Buchanan in '56. He was one of the muscular genus, and did not hesitate to repel force by force if the circumstances called for it. Mr. Rynders was appointed Marshal for the Southern District of New York in 1857.

* Up to date of the late war with Spain.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FREE SOIL MOVEMENT.



URING the political turmoil which preceded the war of secession the Tammany Society planted itself on strictly constitutional ground repudiating the "higher law" doctrine of the anti-slavery party. To the Tammany adherents the law of the land was the law to be recognized, which brought upon them the newly invented sobriquet of "old hunkers;" and this elegant term was applied as well to all of the Democratic party who ventured to defend the constitutional rights as guaranteed in the original compact of the States, the Constitution, at that time clearly recognizing the existence of slavery in several of the States. These conservative politicians held that the Government had no right to infringe Article 4th of the Constitution, and in the 3d clause of Section 2, the rendition of escaping slaves was specially provided for; hence the hunkers did not wince, nor were their ethics disturbed, when the famous compromise measures of 1850 included the return of fugitive slaves. But sentiment and humanity proved stronger than constitutional provisions, and the whole of the decade between 1850 and 1860 may be said to have been consumed in discussing the subject of slavery by one party and in devising schemes to suppress its discussion by others.

As this episode in American politics has been treated by many able writers, from almost every possible point of view, we do not think it necessary to give here opinions on a subject which is now a dead issue, any further than is called for, to show Tammany's position in the preliminary political skirmishes which affected the membership of the Society as well as its influence in the community. In the National Democratic Convention of 1848, which met at Baltimore on May 22d of that year, two delegations, each calling themselves "regular," put in their claims to recognition, the party being divided into two factions known as "hunkers" and "barnburners." The hunkers were affiliated with the Tammany party, and were thus designated by their opponents as resembling the Bourbons, of whom it is alleged they neither learn anything nor forget anything. The "barnburners," who eventually merged into the Free soil party, were thus named because the old conservatives likened them to the farmer who burned down his barn to get rid of the rats, the hunkers believing that those so zealous to get rid of slavery were in danger of destroying the Union at the same time.

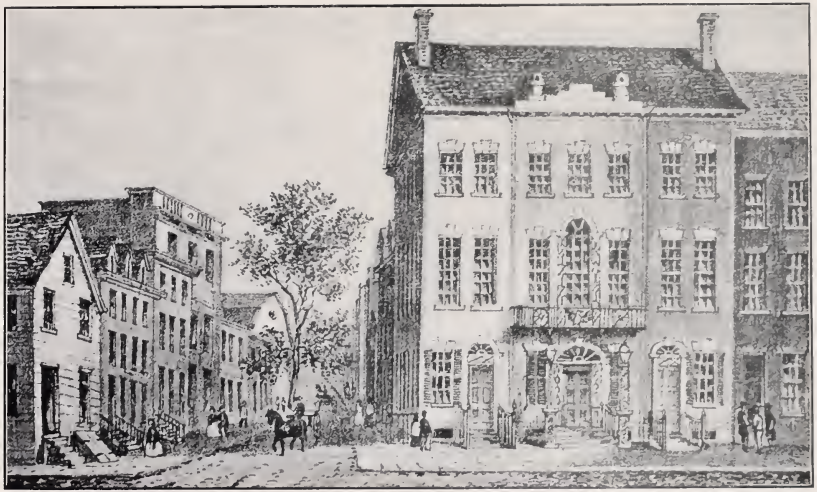
The divisions of the Democratic party which grew out of these slavery discussions were intensified by the tenacity with which the "barnburner" wing kept its loyalty to the fortunes of Martin Van Buren, who, as stated above, had been sidetracked in the National Convention in 1844 in favor of James K. Polk, who was elected over the Whig nominee, Henry Clay, by the electoral vote of 170 to 105. The admission of Texas had been effected under President Polk's administration in 1845; but the struggle over it had left bitter feelings, still active in minds of the barnburner Democrats, who shortly after assumed the name of Free

Soilers. The body calling itself the State Democracy met in convention at Syracuse on the 29th of September and remained in session until the 2d of October, 1847, this being the hunker wing of the party.

This body issued an address which proved very displeasing to the Van Buren, or barnburner faction, which incontenintly seceded and called a counter convention, which was first appointed to be held on the 22d of February, 1848, but the date was afterward changed to the 16th of the same month. Selecting their old favorite, Van Buren, as their candidate for President, though he had been beaten in the popular vote of 1840 and rejected by the National Convention of 1844, they still succeeded in drawing off so large a number from the regular organization as to greatly weaken it before the people.

The hunkers met this movement by a call to their followers to meet at Albany on the 26th of January, 1848, where they matured plans for the selection of candidates to represent their views at the National Convention, which body was to meet at Baltimore in May. The unwisdom of division was soon made apparent. The Committee on Credentials proposed to the leaders that both wings of the party from New York should promise to abide peaceably by the decision of the committee and support the nominee of the convention, whoever he might prove to be. The Tammany men agreed to this, but the barnburners would not. Then the committee agreed to admit both factions on equal terms, but still the barnburners were obdurate and finally they withdrew from the convention; and the hunkers, considering themselves insulted by being considered as no better than mere barnburners, though they kept their seats in the convention, took no part in the proceedings. Thus New York's electoral vote for Lewis Cass, the nominee of the convention, was lost, and with it the Presidency for the ensuing four years, the Whig candidate, General Taylor, being elected.

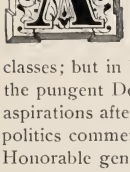
In 1856 there was another disastrous schism, the Democratic party being now divided between the "Hards" and the "Softs." New York's electoral vote was again lost. The separate delegations, each having an equal number of votes, neutralized each other.



THE WIGWAM FROM 1812 TO 1867 ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT "SUN" BUILDING.
CORNER OF FRANKFORT AND NASSAU STS.

CHAPTER XXV.

MICHAEL WALSH.



VERY vital personality which once made an integral part of the Tammany Hall political forces was the Hon. Michael Walsh, better remembered, perhaps, by his abbreviated name of "Mike." If he was in active politics now, he would probably be accused of being a Socialist, so ardent were his feelings in regard to everything bearing on the welfare of the working classes; but in his day the word had not become acclimated in America. Even the pungent Democracy of Tammany Hall was not broad enough to satisfy his aspirations after "liberty, fraternity and equality." Mr. Walsh's active career in politics commenced early in the "40's," a period of intense partisan excitement. Honorable gentlemen, both in the State Legislature and in Congress, indulged in an amount and virulence of personalities which would not now be tolerated.

Born and bred in New York City, in the Third Ward, he had all the characteristics of the young American let loose, with the addition of a veritable genius for effective oratory and a political discernment exceedingly rare in those whose early years have been largely consumed in manual labor. In later life, Mr. Walsh became a lumber merchant near the same locality where he had formerly worked with his hands. His intensity of conviction overcame the lack of scholastic training, and he became a clear and forcible writer on his favorite topics, as well as a brilliant orator.

Among his political followers he early attained the unique distinction of being considered as "always right." This was particularly true of his large constituency in the Fourteenth Ward, in which he resided for many years while in active politics. His cardinal principle was never to allow his followers to take a defensive position, but always the aggressive, even if physical force was necessary, which sometimes happened in those days at the polls, there being then no registry law and, consequently, many more chances of disorder. His followers were systematically divided into sections, each having their captain and lieutenant. Among these were Edward Sprague, who was commonly called "Major," the two Chanfraus, Henry and Joseph, John Ketcham, George Isaacs, John Austin and "Governor" McElroy. The discipline of the rank and file was very effective. He was sometimes called the "perpetual critic," because he was perpetually criticising the management of the political leaders in Tammany Hall, and though a useful and hard-working ally when the need arose, he was apt to be something of a thorn in the flesh at times.

In 1847, when in the State Legislature, a member from the rural district of Otsego took advantage on an occasion of Mr. Walsh's absence to make an unmanly attack upon him, his career and his constituency; going so far as to describe the latter as "dirty Democrats." Of course, Walsh was informed of what had taken place. To say that the lion was aroused would not begin to express his state of mind. Seizing upon the first opportunity which occurred,

Mr. Walsh entered upon a dissection of his assailant, a Mr. Fenno, with such a verbal avalanche of sarcastic retorts as would have made even Randolph of Roanoke pale with envy, and can only be compared in the sharpness of its virus, to the arraignment of the Duke of Grafton by Junius. Repeatedly Mr. Fenno appealed to the Chair for protection, but the whole Assembly sympathized with Mr. Walsh, feeling that Mr. Fenno had brought his punishment upon himself by his unwarranted attack on the New York member, and particularly by the unjustifiable stigma he had cast on Mr. Walsh's constituency. The Chair declined to interfere until the evident misery of his victim appeared to touch the feelings of even the angry orator, who had by this time made Mr. Fenno appear absolutely ridiculous, the Assembly having been repeatedly convulsed with laughter. At last Mr. Walsh, looking his subdued and utterly humiliated assailant in the face, concluded thus: "You can go, but remember, for the future, that bull-frogs should never undertake to grapple with lions." Nor did any one else attempt to assail Michael Walsh while he was a member of the State Legislature, to which after his first term of service had expired, he was re-elected. Subsequently, when Walsh was sent to Congress, he had a somewhat similar victorious contest with a Western member. On his renomination to Congress, in 1854, he was defeated by John Kelly, probably the only man at that time in New York who could have beaten him. Micheal Walsh first won his oratorical spurs in a speech at Tammany Hall against the "Know-Nothing" element to which he was most vehmently opposed, claiming that the sooner foreigners were admitted to the franchise, the sooner they became Americanized and good citizens.



DANIEL F. TIEMANN.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WHO OWNS TAMMANY HALL?



TO MOST outsiders it is more or less of a mystery how a society incorporated as a purely benevolent association has grown to represent the most permanent political organization in the country. Another query to the uninitiated has been where to draw the line between the Sachems of the Columbian Order and the active politicians who run what is popularly known as the "Tammany machine," the same names frequently appearing in both rolls. The facts are not so difficult of explanation as they appear on the surface.

As stated in Chapter I, the founders of the Tammany Society, though not all then bearing the name of Democrats (or as they were then called Republicans), were, in fact, invariably persons imbued with Democratic ideas, as opposed to Federalism. As time advanced these early intuitions became more fixed and permanent. At the time of the incorporation of the Society it had become practically partisan in its character, though not claiming to be such, but only thoroughly American. Its form of application to the Legislature, and probably its then intent, was only for the purpose of looking after the welfare of its own members and their families, but in politics they were then, nearly all, anti-Federal. For over twenty years of the early existence of the Society it occupied hired halls and places of meeting, the rent being paid out of the general treasury, but in 1811-12, when their first permanent building was erected, it became absolute owner of the same. At first its large hall, particularly the ball-room, was let for temporary occupancy to various associations and parties, without much attention to the nature of the occupant's politics, but it was not very long before the question arose: "Should the Hall, owned by the Columbian Order, be let to political parties opposed to the doctrines of Democracy? Of course, discussion followed, as, by refusing to so let, a certain loss of revenue must be reckoned on; but principle triumphed over financial considerations, and it was finally decided that, though the Hall might be let for miscellaneous purposes, such as balls, banquets, etc., of a simply social character, and for lectures on scientific and literary subjects, it should not be let to or allowed to be used by opposing political parties.

A case which occurred in 1853, and therefore well within the memory of many of our readers, will illustrate, perhaps, better than any other mode of explanation how the Society, the successors of the original founders, controlled the use of the building.

In February of 1853, the Grand Council of the Society of Tammany or the Columbian Order issued a special "Address" on this very subject, and in defence of a recent decision made by them, "Relative to the Political Use of Tammany Hall." The Hall was then on the corner of Nassau and Frankfort streets, the present site of *The Sun* building. The substance of this address was as follows:

"Brothers, the action of the Grand Council, in a certain case recently decided, has been assailed. It is right that you should know the facts. You are scattered abroad through every State of our beloved Union, but your hearts are here with us, and our reputation is

dear to you. The event which has caused criticism of our Council cannot be considered of local interest only; It is of wide concern, because it relates to the character and position of our Society, and its relation to Tammany Hall. The Tammany Society is now [1853] two-thirds of a century old, and has for a long time been a centre of Democracy, to some extent, to the whole country. The unanimity required for the admission of new members insures the character and standing of each and all, and yet allows of wide diffusion and liberality of welcome, excluding only enemies of our political faith.

Our Society Owns Tammany Hall,

and, by its control of it, is able to exert great influence on the Democratic organization. We have had, and have, as members, nearly all the military and naval heroes of the country—all 'the favorite sons' of every State in the Union, as well as noble statesmen in the national councils; the most renowned men from the North, South, East and West, have all been initiated into our brotherhood."

The use of Tammany Hall is now regulated by the lease (of date December 12, 1842) from the Tammany Society to Joseph W. Howard, under the following covenant: "And the said party of the second part promise and agree to, with the said party of the first part [the Society of Tammany], their successors and assigns, that the present Democratic Republican General Committee of the City of New York and their successors shall have the privilege of holding all their political meetings in said Tammany Hall during the continuance of this lease and the renewal thereof.

'The said lessee also agrees not to let or sub-let to any other political party."

Elijah F. Purdy was Chairman of the Democratic Republican Committee when this lease was signed, February 4, 1853. It was also provided at this time that, in case doubt or question arising whether any party desiring to hire the hall was of the correct brand of Democracy, the matter should be referred in writing either to the Grand Sachem or to the Father of the Council. The final power to act upon such a case was vested in the Grand Council.

At this period a case in point had arisen. At the opening of the year 1853 the Democratic organization of the city found itself in very peculiar circumstances. The General Committee for the preceeding year had provided primary meetings for the election of their successors, but had failed to designate the time or place of meeting to report on the result. Under ordinary circumstances the omission would have been comparatively unimportant, as the members would have arranged it among themselves, and would naturally have chosen Tammany Hall; but it so happened that united action on this occasion was not possible, as it was known that, out of the then existing twenty wards, in sixteen the regular nominations would be contested, and the danger appeared that two organizations might be formed. The General Committee for 1852 was defunct by lapse of time, and that for 1853 had yet to be elected. There seemed no way out of the difficulty but for the Grand Council of the Tammany Society to "mediate;" therefore, continues this address, "We request the delegates from the wards, elected pursuant to the call of the late General Committee, to meet at Tammany Hall on the evening of January 13th for organization, the old officers courteously uniting in this request 'for those having certificates signed by a majority of the Inspectors.'"

On the evening designated those claiming to have been elected as members of the General Committee for 1853 did meet as invited, when there ensued one of the most grotesque entertainments ever offered to the onlookers at a political gathering.

The hall was crowded with an expectant audience, composed not only of the "regulars" and contestants, but of their followers and supporters, as well as a large number of curious spectators. When it became necessary to proceed to the election of a chairman pro tem, Daniel E. Delevan was nominated, apparently chosen by the majority, and took his seat. Immediately thereupon the contestants nominated Thomas J. Barr, and, many voices approving, he also took his seat upon the platform, close to Mr. Delevan. The latter received, put and decided motions by which Mr. George H. Purser and Thaddeus B. Glover were appointed temporary Secretaries. Messrs. Grazier and Cohen were thereupon nominated for the same duty by the opposing party, the motion for their appointment being put by Barr, and decided in their favor by him. Things began to look ridiculous or dangerous, as the spectators viewed them more or less seriously. An animated discussion arose, and a motion was put, first by one chairman and then by the other, that "only those should remain in the hall who held certificates signed by two-thirds of the Inspectors." This motion was carried. The roll being called, the ineligible quietly retired, fifty-eight of the sixty members remaining with Delevan as Chairman. Another vote was then taken for Chairman, only thirty in response voting. Mr. Barr refused to accept this vote, and retired with his followers to the other side of the room and there formed a separate organization, on the ground that parties remaining with Mr. Delevan had been allowed to vote whose certificates had been signed only by a majority and not by all of the Inspectors. Those remaining with Delevan elected him, with Messrs. Purser and Glover as officers of the "regular" organization. Both parties then adjourned to meet again at Tammany Hall on the 18th inst. Union was still hoped for, and on the evening named Delevan and his friends met as usual in the committee room with open doors, but Mr. Barr and his followers, instead of coming there, met in a room public to all the guests of the hotel, and there perfected their organization, adjourning to meet again at Tammany Hall on the 20th.

It was now time for the General Council to get in its fine work; a meeting was called on the afternoon of the 10th; ten Sachems being present, after some little discussion, the decision was rendered that the Delevan party was alone entitled to the use of Tammany Hall; and also that no committee was to meet until the 21st inst. It was this action of the Grand Council which had called forth the criticism alluded to in the commencement of this chapter, and was the occasion of the issuance of the formal address to the general "Brotherhood." When the decision of the Council was made known, forty-one members had published a call for a meeting hostile to what they deemed "the unprecedented assumption of the Sachems." But they were not allowed to use the building. Among these forty-one were Sachem Cornell, and Brothers West, Bogardus and Connolly, and of these one had voted for the motion carried, as to certificates, and the others had aided in procuring the action they now condemned.

At the authorized meeting of January 21st a permanent organization was effected, Lorenzo Shepard being chosen chairman; Jacob F. Oakley, treasurer; Thaddeus Glover and Abraham S. Vosburgh, secretaries.

This notable "Address," in closing, congratulates the Brotherhood on the result of the recent Presidential election—that of Franklin Pierce. It is dated, "At the Council Chamber of the Great Wigwam, at Manhattan, in the season of

Snows, 2d Moon; in the sixty-fifth year of the institution of the Society, and the seventy-seventh of Independence." (New York, February 4, 1853.)

Signed by

Elijah F. Purdy,	Jacob M. Vreeland,
Andrew H. Mickle,	André Fromont,
John Dunham,	George S. Messerve,
Samuel Allen,	Wm. J. Brown,
Charles A. Denike,	Is. V. Fowler,
Thomas Dunlap,	Stephen H. Feeks.

George Messerve: Father of the Council.
Thomas K. Downey: Scribe.

These proceedings clearly show that the incorporated "Society of Tammany, or the Columbian Order," are the legal owners and proprietors of the structure known as Tammany Hall, and that the political organization which has for so long had their headquarters there, are simply tenants at will of the old Society. That they have a very secure tenure may be inferred from the fact that all, or very nearly all, of the officers and members of the latter are also members of the political party which is best known to the public as representing "Tammany."

More recent events have shown that the practical control of Tammany Hall still resides in the Sachems and officers of the incorporated organization. In November, 1894, among some of the younger men there was considerable talk of choosing leaders independently of the Sachems. One of the latter put the case thus to an active malcontent: "Suppose that the young men should reorganize, and that an attempt was made to reorganize us out of Tammany, what would happen? Simply that the trustees of the Tammany Society would shut the same young men out of Tammany Hall building. Yours would then be a guerrilla organization and not Tammany Hall. Would it not?" That view of the case effectually stopped the movement.



ISAAC BELL.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TAMMANY'S ATTITUDE DURING THE CIVIL WAR.



URING the discussion of the situation preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, Tammany, as we have noticed in the previous chapter, did all that a political party could do to preserve the integrity of the Union; but when hostilities had commenced by the firing upon Fort Sumter, they promptly took their place on the side of the Government; resolved, if the Union could not be maintained by peaceable means, it must be preserved at any cost, and by all the means in the hands of loyal men.

As illustrating the feelings, not only of the officers and leaders of the Society, but as also expressing the state of mind of the rank and file of the members, we cannot do better than give the programme of the proceedings of a meeting held in the Wigwam on the Fourth of July, 1862.

The following is the official order of the day:

"The Officers and Sachems are requested to meet at the old Wigwam at 11.30 A. M. The doors of the large hall will be thrown open to the public at 12 M. precisely.

"From that hour until 1 P. M. the Sicilian brass band will play national airs. The general exercises will be opened by the performance of an overture by the band. The opening address will be made by the Grand Sachem, Nelson J. Waterbury. Then follows the National Hymn, 'My Country, 'tis of Thee,' sung by Colburn, assisted by twenty-four picked boys, with piano accompaniment. The Declaration of Independence will then be read by Brother George W. McLean. Mr. Colburn will next sing the 'Red, White and Blue,' with his chorus and accompaniment. The recitation of Eliza Cook's 'Ode to Washington' is next in order. One of the most stirring songs of the time will then be given, led by Mr. Colburn and chorus:

" 'The Drum-tap Rattles Through the Land,'

"the audience being invited to join in the chorus. Henry Morford, Esq., will then read his patriotic poem, entitled, 'Tammany and the Union,' written for the occasion. Then we shall have a patriotic hymn, written by Grand Sachem Waterbury, entitled, 'Forever,' sung by Colburn and his choristers. The Oration of the Day will be given by the Hon. Charles P. Daly.

"The ceremonies to conclude with the singing of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The audience will rise and join in singing the chorus."

One would think that this was a pretty full programme for a hot July day, but for some hundreds at least that was not the end of the festival. A few modest lines at the foot of the programme read thus: "The Banquet Room will then be thrown open where the Waters of the Great Spring will flow profusely, and where distinguished brethren will respond to appropriate sentiments, and patriotic songs will be given by an efficient glee club.

The Committee of Arrangements on this notable occasion was as follows:

Sachems John A. Dix, Elijah Purdy, Richard B. Connolly, P. B. Sweeney, J. Kelly, Isaac Bell, James B. Nicholson, Daniel E. Delevan, Thomas Dunlap, Edward Cooper, Douglas Taylor, C. C. Childs, J. E. Devlin.

Treasurer, George E. Baldwin; Sagamore, G. S. Messerve; Scribe, Richard Winnie; Wiskinkie, S. C. Duryea; Father of the Council, Henry Vandewater.

We give below the names of the Committee of Members of the Society, less for its intrinsic interest than for the purpose of enabling those who still remember the men of that period, to judge whether or not they compare favorably with the average composition of such committees made up by other political parties. Certainly it would be difficult to find better or more patriotic men than the great

majority of those to be found in this list of officers and members of the Tammany organization of 1862, or who, at least up to that period, stood on a level or above the representatives of other political parties:

General Committee of the Tammany Society for 1862.

Daniel F. Tieman,	David A. Fowler,	Henry L. Clinton,
Emanuel B. Hart,	Thomas W. Adams,	Wm. M. Tweed.
Andrew V. Stout,	Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr.,	John T. Henry,
M. T. Brennan,	Edward Sanford,	John S. Giles,
Smith Ely, Jr.,	William B. Clarke,	Samuel J. Tilden,
Anthony L. Robertson,	Moses D. Gale,	Josiah W. Brown.
James Murphy,	Edmund L. Hearne,	Wm. H. Leonard,
James Lynch,	A. T. Gallager,	Wm. J. Peck,
C. Godfrey Gunther,	William Murphy,	Thomas Byrnes,
André Froment,	George Smith,	John H. McCunn,
L. F. Harrison,	Walter Roche,	Albert Cardoza,
Andrew H. Green,	Aaron B. Rollins,	Michael Connolly,
Thomas B. Tappan,	John R. Briggs,	John Clancy,
George G. Barnard,	Wilson G. Hunt,	George H. E. Lynch,
John Y. Savage, Jr.,	William McMurray,	Robert C. McIntyre,
Charles J. Chipp,	Frederick L. Vultee,	Harvey F. Aubrey,
John T. Hoffman,	William J. Powers,	John Fitch,
John M. Barbour,	Ralph Bogart,	John Eagan,
Thomas C. Fields,	George W. McLean,	Peter Moneghan,
William Miner,	William C. Conner,	Jefferson Brown,
Henry Hilton,	John Richardson,	Joseph D. Baldwin.
	Augustus Schell,	

Grand Sachem—Nelson J. Waterbury, Secretary—George E. Childs.

On this occasion an unusual amount of decorations were indulged in, including a great display of transparencies. General Jackson's portrait was draped with the national colors. Washington, Lafayette, Jefferson, Polk, Clay and Webster adorned the walls of the Wigwam. There were estimated to be over two thousand persons present, more than the old hall could comfortably accommodate. The Grand Sachem's address was steeped with patriotism. Among other remarks concerning the spirit of the Tammany Society, he said: "Tammany, or the Columbian Order, took root in the pure soil of the Revolutionary era, and still remains true to the spirit of those early days, devoted now as then to our national Constitution, to those principles of civil liberty upon which our government is founded, and upon which alone it can be perpetuated. . . . . There never was a time when it was more incumbent upon every man who loves liberty, who values the freedom of his country, to recall these principles. . . . . We are at a crisis when a wicked rebellion has raised its foul head to overthrow and destroy the best government the world has ever known." Mr. Waterbury then referred in somewhat passionate language to the unjust treatment of Gen. Geo. B. McClellan, claiming that he had been willfully betrayed and his success imperiled by Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, in the interest of the Republican party; "but," he added, "If Gen. McClellan has been compelled to retreat in the face of a force three to one against him, it is only the more important, the more incumbent upon every friend of his country to rally to her support, and to do whatever he can to give success to her cause, and to the brave men who are bound together upon the battlefield to maintain it. We must do the President [Lincoln] of the United States the justice to say that he has done well in overruling the proclamations of Fremont and Hunter [prematurely anticipating the President's action in giving freedom to the slaves]. There is no heart here, I am sure, which does not

accept the following sentiment with the devotion of life itself: "The Union of these States shall remain, now and forever, one and inseparable.'" This sentiment was received with loud and prolonged cheers. We select one verse from the Grand Sachem's patriotic hymn, entitled "Forever," as showing not only the spirit of the author, but of the great Tammany meeting which so enthusiastically indorsed it. The music was by the well-known American composer, George W. Bristow, and was rendered with great spirit by popular singers of the day. We select the second verse as best expressing the predominant feeling of the hour:

"God bless our Union chain,
Each sacred link retain
Forever and forever.
With other links extend it,
Let treason never rend it,
From every foe defend it;
God bless the Union ever,
Forever and forever."

The following verses are from the song most popular in Tammany Hall at that period:

"THE DRUM-TAP RATTLES THROUGH THE LAND."

"The drum-tap rattles through the land,
The trumpet calls to arms;
A startled nation stands aghast,
Unused to war's alarms.
Ho! watchman on the outer wall,
What danger do you see?
'To arms! To arms!' the sentry cries,
'To arms! if you'd be free.'
'To arms! if you'd be free.'"

The intervening verses describe the assault on Fort Sumter, etc., and the uprising of the people. The last verse is solemn in its earnestness:

"God speed our noble, gallant band,
Of heroes true and brave;
March on! march on! till o'er our land
The Stars and Stripes shall wave.
Great God of battles, bless our cause,
Bring peace from war's alarms;
Protect and guide us by Thy might
Till vict'ry crowns our arms.
Chorus—"To arms! To arms!" etc.

The orator of the day, Hon. Charles P. Daly, devoted considerable space to the claims of Virginia, that her colonial stock was superior to that of New England or New York, which he emphatically denied. At the close of the oration the audience were pleasantly surprised by the entrance of General Hiram Walbridge, who was received with enthusiastic cheers. After a brief speech, the General proposed the following resolutions for the acceptance of the meeting:

"Whereas, The United States are engaged in suppressing a wicked and infamous rebellion against the integrity of the Constitution and the stability of the Union; and

"Whereas, Continued intimations reach us of foreign intervention, the Democracy of the city and county of New York, while commemorating the anniversary of the birth of our national existence, unanimously declare their adherence, and, if necessary, the armed defense of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and resolve accordingly."

The third resolution reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That actual interference by any foreign power will sow the northern section of the hemisphere with the fabled dragon's teeth, and will bring forth its full crop of armed men to resist them."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The General then proceeded to say: "One year ago I stood here and read to you the President's call for six hundred thousand men. A year has transpired and Tammany has been vindicated.* But there is no sacrifice too great, none which we should not most cheerfully make in order to help the Government at this moment. We want more troops, more money; and we must all be ready for every sacrifice, and above all to effectively resent all foreign interference."

In the banquet-room, Mr. August Belmont responded to a toast regretting the war, and hoping for speedy peace. Judge Hilton responded to the toast, "George Washington, may his name, with that of Jefferson and Jackson, ever be talismanic within this hall." In responding to the toast "Thomas Jefferson," Gen. Walbridge reverted to the theme he had broached in the Wigwam; he said: "If intervention must come, let it come. Relying upon our own strong arms, we will implore the God of battles to smile upon us, as upon our fathers in the dark days of the Revolution; and we will enter upon the contest, determined that here Liberty shall build her last entrenchment, and that we shall fight until we spill the last drop of our blood, in maintaining and preserving free representative, constitutional government, from the grasping avarice or ambition of any foreign invaders."

The Grand Sachem then gave the toast, "The Union, the glorious arch that spans our national horizon, may no Pleiad ever be lost from its constellation." To this Henry L. Clinton responded: "The Union," he said, "must and shall be preserved," pointing at the same time to the portrait of President Jackson, the original framer of the phrase. The reference to Jackson as the author of this apropos sentiment was received with great enthusiasm. After the prolonged cheering had subsided, Mr. Clinton resumed. "It is," he said, "no small consolation, for every fair and consistent Democrat, to reflect that the Democratic party had done all in its power to avert the dreadful catastrophe; but now, the energetic prosecution of the war was an imperative duty."

To the toast, "The Constitution," R. B. Connolly spoke; and to "Our Nationality," Hon. Charles P. Daly. To the sentiment, "Abraham Lincoln," the Grand Sachem, Elijah F. Purdy (whose well-known sobriquet was the "old War-horse of the Democracy") responded. He said he was so unused to speaking in praise of any one not a Democrat that he felt strange at the toast awarded him; and he added, "I am at a loss to express what is really due to the Chief Magistrate, who is always to be respected, but I can assure President Lincoln, that as long as he conducts this war for the suppression of the rebellion and the supremacy of the law, to restore the Union, and maintain the Constitution, he will always find a hearty response and cordial support from Democrats, and particularly from those of Tammany Hall."

Other toasts followed: to Gen. George B. McClellan, to the Navy, to the State, the City, the Press, to Our Countrywomen, all of which were ably responded to, but we have aimed only to give sufficient of the remarks made, to indicate the spirit animating the gathering of "the braves," and need not follow the proceedings farther. It was a great and enthusiastic patriotic meeting, long remembered by those who had the good fortune to be present.

* Referring to the regiment raised by the Tammany Society.



COLONEL WILLIAM D. KENNEDY.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

"THE TAMMANY JACKSON GUARD;" OR, FORTY-SECOND VOLUNTEER REGIMENT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.



S SOON as the news of the attack upon Fort Sumter reached New York City, Tammany Hall took immediate action in placing itself on the side of the Union; and, at its own expense, recruited, equipped and sent to the front a full regiment, the Forty-second, whose record on many a bloody field is unsurpassed by any other that fought under the Stars and Stripes to the end of the war.

Its first Colonel was the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society at the time he received his commission as commander of the regiment. During the war, over seven thousand men fought for the Union under Tammany's regimental banner, and of these thousands less than five hundred returned home. Of the original twelve hundred, forming the first regiment sent into the field, only two hundred and fifty returned. Colonel Kennedy, like Vosburg and Ellsworth, did not live to command the regiment in battle, for he died of an illness brought on by over-exertion in behalf of his charge, in July of 1861. By the middle of June the Tammany regiment had enlisted one thousand one hundred men, but, when just ready to start, word was received from Washington "that they had men enough," but it was suggested that the regiment be held together until further notice. This was the illusive period of the inexperienced statesman rule, when Secretary Seward thought the war would be ended in "sixty days." The Tammany regiment, to the great disappointment of officers and men, was temporarily quartered at Great Neck, Long Island, where they were supplied with arms, and received drill instruction, for which purpose an officer was detailed from West Point. The importance of accurate instruction in the use of arms and other military tactics was not at first so thoroughly appreciated as later on in the struggle.

Before leaving Long Island for Washington, the regiment was presented with the national colors; a regimental standard with State arms, and a guidon bearing the arms of the Tammany Society.

The presentation was made by Grand Sachem Elijah F. Purdy, who was at this time chairman of the General Committee of Tammany Hall, on behalf of a Joint Committee appointed to this duty by the Society. The flags were received on the part of the regiment by Colonel Kennedy, who briefly and appropriately responded, expressing hearty thanks of himself, his officers and men. An elegant pistol was presented to the gallant Colonel by George W. Roome, and a splendid sword and sash by John Clancy. These were the gifts of personal friends. The Colonel then led the delegates through the open ranks of the regiment, which was pronounced to be equal to the best yet organized at the North; and the statement was freely made that there were very few which showed such excellent material in physical appearance.

One of the saddest losses, early in the history of this regiment, was the premature death of their Colonel, William D. Kennedy, who had been one of the

most enthusiastic advocates for raising the regiment. When the proposition to do so was first made in a meeting at Tammany Hall, the query was put, "If we raise a regiment, who will command it?" "I will," answered the Grand Sachem, "if a better commander does not offer." And from that moment all his thoughts, time and energy were directed to this object, and success came rapidly as to the enlistment of recruits; then came the delay at Great Neck; the care of hundreds of men in camp, only a few miles from the city; the ambition to turn out well-drilled men; the constant desire, thrown back, to start to the front. Colonel Kennedy knew no rest, but the unwonted physical exertion, and of such a novel nature, was paid for by a fatal penalty.

The regiment reached Washington on the third Saturday of July, 1861. Colonel Kennedy, though very unwell, persisted in keeping at the head of his men when marching through the hot streets of Washington to the camp-ground assigned to them. Eventually compelled to retire for rest, he never rallied, but passed away, without having been allowed the satisfaction of a single encounter with the enemy.*

On receiving the news of their loss, a special meeting of the General Committee was held at their room in Tammany Hall, on the 24th of July, 1861, where resolutions of regret for their own loss and condolence with his family were passed, not in a merely perfunctory style, but, as those who were present will remember, with a sorrowful tenderness of sympathy and sincere regret which it would be difficult to find exceeded on any similar occasion. Not content with verbal expressions only, the committee issued a memorial pamphlet, recording Colonel Kennedy's service in raising the Forty-second Regiment, and his virtues as a man and a citizen, as well as a high officer of the Tammany Society. This printed memorial is signed:

ELIJAH F. PURDY, Chairman.
JOHN HARDY and A. B. ROLLINS, Secretaries.

This Forty-second Regiment was by no means the only one raised by Democrats, who either were, had been, or became Tammany men. Fernando Wood raised another, of which John S. Cocks was Colonel, though at this particular time Mr. Wood was the leader of the Mozart faction—truants from Tammany. Then there was the Sickles Brigade, filled with Tammany men; in fact, it was hard to find a regiment raised in the City of New York during the war in which there were not many—especially was this true of the brigade raised by General Francis B. Spinola.

Among other Tammany men active in promoting recruiting may be named John Clancy, editor of the *Leader*, Judge Moses D. Gale, Colonel Thomas Dunlap, Colonel Delevan, Mr. Peter Bowe, Douglas Taylor, Alderman Charles E. Loew, Nelson J. Waterbury, Isaac Bell, Casper C. Childs, C. L. Monel, John Houghtaling and others.

It was at the battle of Ball's Bluff, in which the Tammany Regiment was engaged, when General Baker fell, that Colonel Cogswell ordered his brigade to cut their way through to Edward's Ferry. In this brigade was a Tammany com-

* The "Kennedy Post," G. A. R., named in his honor, still keeps alive his revered memory in the City of New York.

pany, headed by Captain Timothy O'Meara. In the commencement of the engagement O'Meara had placed by the side of the Stars and Stripes the green flag of his native isle. The twin emblems seemed to inspire the men of this particular company with redoubled energy and intrepidity, and they charged upon the enemy with terrible effect; nor did they give way till all hopes were dead. Colonel Cogswell and Captain O'Meara were captured, and shared all the horrors of rebel captivity.

At the battle of Antietam the Tammany Regiment lost one hundred and eighty killed, wounded and missing, out of two hundred and eighty who went into the battle. The regiment had to be refilled several times by new enlistments. In fact, Tammany Hall kept up a permanent recruiting station while the war lasted.

At Gettysburg Lieutenant Colonel William A. Lynch, a Tammany soldier, seeing his color-sergeant shot down, and the men wavering under a terrible fire, sprang from his horse, tore the standard from the hands of the dying sergeant, and, bearing it to the head of his command, restored the temporarily flagging hopes of his regiment. This brave man was in many battles, but survived the war. The Forty-second, or Tammany Regiment, was mustered into the service of the United States June 22-28, 1861, and was mustered out on the 13th of July, 1864. Those who chose to remain in the military service, with all the new recruits were transferred to the Eighty-second N. Y. Volunteers.

The official record of the service of the Tammany Regiment in the archives of the Adjutant-General's office at Albany is the most honorable. The Tammany Jackson Guards were in the thick of the fight at the battles of Ball's Bluff, Yorktown, West Point, Va., Glendale, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, etc. After the battle of Gettysburg, on the second day of the fight, the entire weight of the rebel army was thrown against the Second Corps—General Hancock's—in which was the Tammany Regiment. In Townsend's valuable work entitled, "The Honors of the Empire State in the War of the Rebellion," he thus describes the scene: "This devoted corps [Hancock's] bore the brunt of the onslaught and merits the honor of the victory. Pickett's splendid division of Longstreet's Confederate Corps came on in front with the best of Hill's veterans supporting them. When they were at blank-point range, came the order for our troops to fire; then from eighteen thousand guns issued a sheet of smoky flame—a crush of leaden death. The first of the Confederate lines literally melted away, but the second came resolutely on. Pickett's division now thrust itself up to the Union line, and the full strength of this attack fell upon the New York City brigade, which included the Tammany troops." "The movement," says the historian Swinton, "was certainly as critical as can well be conceived, but the coolness and bravery of both officers and men caused the repulse and route of the assailants; and with that repulse perished the last hope of Confederate victory," and in the grand result the Tammany Jackson Guards had its full share of glory—and of loss.

We give here a few of the names of men of the Forty-second which have received "honorable mention" or other official honors for heroic conduct under fire:

Lieut. Thomas Abbott was honorably mentioned in Lieut.-Col. Mooney's report of the battle of Ball's Bluff, also Major Peter Bowe in the same report.

Col. Milton Cogswell was presented with a sword by the Common Council of the City of New York, on the scabbard of which was inscribed these words, which the recipient had used at the battle of Ball's Bluff, suiting the action to the words: "Men, we'll cut our way through to Edward's Ferry." Colonel Henry Harrington was also honorably mentioned for brave conduct at Ball's Bluff.

Col. Edward C. Charles was one of the noted heroes of White Oak Swamp, where he was badly wounded and taken prisoner.

Private D. H. Morgan is commended in the official report as having volunteered to advance with the head of the column, and cut down the palisading, at the time of the assault on Fort Fisher. These are but a few specimens among hundreds of others showing the kind of material that did all their duty, and more, at the seat of war, furnished by the much-vilified Tammany Hall. Let us say of them in the words of the Rev. Henry W. Bellows:

"Rest patriots, rest
Rest within the bosom of that earth
Thou didst so much to make
A more worthy residence for thy fellow men."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE SOLDIER POET OF THE WAR.



CHARLES GRAHAM HALPINE was among the ardent lovers of liberty who naturally gravitated towards Tammany Hall, and who made a record for himself in aiding to preserve the union of these States, though not a native of the soil. He came to this country in 1852, and after some experience in Boston and elsewhere, settled in New York, and became known before the war as an able journalist, a gifted poet, a genial member of society, and he only awaited the opportunity to prove himself a brave and accomplished soldier. Early in his New York career he was attached to the editorial staff of the *Times* newspaper, for which he wrote the famous "Nicaragua Letters" during the Walker filibustering expedition. The *Times* was then under the editorial control of the late Henry J. Raymond. Later Mr. Halpine became part proprietor and editor of the New York *Leader*. His associate in this venture was the well-known John Clancy. When Mr. Halpine took hold of this paper it had but a meagre circulation, which might be counted by hundreds only, but under the attraction of the new editor's forcible papers and the improved make-up of reading matter, the circulation rapidly increased, until it reached 11,000. Its influence was marked, and for a while it seemed destined to become the most popular paper in the city. But Mr. Halpine withdrew from the concern and the charm seemed to go with him. Subsequently this man of versatile talents was connected with the *Herald*, and also contributed to magazines and other periodicals, apparently possessing the capacity to turn off unlimited quantities of any sort of literary matter, prose or poetry, just as the occasion demanded. He was thoroughly Democratic in his principles, though his writings were not limited to publications of that party.

When the war broke out Mr. Halpine promptly enlisted in the Sixty-ninth New York Infantry, abandoning, without hesitation, all his literary engagements, and the fairest prospects of success, to fight for the preservation of his adopted country. His unusual mental mobility enabled him to grasp military ideas with ease, and to so thoroughly adapt himself to the novel circumstances in which he found himself placed that he was almost immediately promoted to a position on the staff of General Hunter as Assistant Adjutant-General with the rank of Major. He accompanied General Hunter to Missouri on his expedition to relieve Fremont, performing very onerous and responsible duties on the occasion. Later he was transferred to the division of Major-General Halleck, with whom his duties were by no means lightened. Mr. Halpine was one of the few civilians whom the West Point men admitted to be an able executive officer.

It was while he was stationed at Hilton Head that he assumed the name of "Miles O'Reilly," thus personating the name of a fictitious private of the Forty-seventh New York Volunteers. Many of his effusions under this *nom de plume* were very amusing, with a strong shade of sarcasm interwoven; but the best of

all, considered as a literary product, was a poem of considerable length on the proposition to raise a monument to the "Irish Legion," so many of whom lost their lives in the Union cause. The entire poem is too long for insertion here, but we give one noble verse, sufficient to show the style and spirit. Speaking of them as aliens by birth, received, as all foreigners at that date were, with cordial hospitality, he says:

"Welcomed they were with generous hand,
And to that welcome nobly true,
When war's dread tocsin filled the land,
With sinewy arm and swinging brand,
These exiles to the rescue flew;
Their fealty to the flag they gave,
And for the Union, daring death,
Foremost among the foremost brave,
They welcomed victory and the grave,
In the same sigh of parting breath."

Although Mr. Halpine's military services were so fully recognized by both General Hunter and General Halleck, the Secretary of War persistently ignored his merits and his just claims to promotion, leaving him, when peace was proclaimed, with the simple rank of Major. Was it because he was a Tammany man? No other cause was ever assigned. Certainly he had been actively influential on the General Committee of that old Democratic society; but surely Tammany had done its duty, and its full share, even more than its share, in sustaining the Union forces in the field. And Major Halpine himself was one proof of it.

For a short period after his return to New York he acted as a member of Gen. Dix's staff, assisting that Commander in arresting a horde of bounty swindlers, who had infested New York during the latter period of the war. This was his last military service. He quietly resumed his literary occupations, and political affiliations. But he did not find all of these working to his satisfaction. One of the parties whom he immediately antagonized was Fernando Wood, a man who had in many respects failed to keep the confidence once reposed in him by a large and effective following. The "Citizens' Association" then existing for the especial purpose of securing some municipal reforms, was fortunate in securing Major Halpine as editor of their paper, which they called *The Citizen.* Of this sheet he shortly after became sole proprietor, and through its influence mainly was built up the organization known for a limited time as the Democratic Union. This paper he edited until his death, which occurred in August, 1868. Honest in every fibre of his being, with talents so varied that he had scarcely a peer among his professional contemporaries, he was personally a man universally liked. It was with deep sorrow that thousands of his fellow citizens bade a final adieu to the patriot, poet, and brave soldier, on that oppressive summer day.



COLONEL THOMAS DUNLAP.

CHAPTER XXX.

FERNANDO WOOD.



NDIVIDUALS of strong character have always had considerable influence in, or on, Tammany Hall, when their talents were exerted in aid or in opposition to that Society. Among many eminently picturesque figures who have at times been supported by and affiliated with Tammany, and again have violently opposed that association, there has been no more striking figure than that of FERNANDO WOOD, three times elected Mayor of New York, and the leader of the Mozart Hall faction, one of the strongest associations ever made up of disaffected Tammanyites.

Mayor Wood is probably best remembered in New York for the curious position which he assumed at the outbreak of the Civil War. He came to this city from Philadelphia in 1820, and, though in mercantile business, soon began to interest himself in politics. In 1839 he was Chairman of a young men's political organization, and in 1840 was elected to Congress, on the Democratic ticket, serving until 1843, when he was nominated for Mayor of New York by his friends, who thought him the strongest man to overcome the combined forces of Whigs and Know-Nothings. He was, however, defeated by them. Nominated again for that office, in 1845, he was elected, and immediately commenced to bring order out of the demoralized condition of the city government, which had been for some time in incompetent hands, and lacked system. He vastly improved the methods, and devised many improvements in municipal management. His efforts were very generally appreciated, so that he was re-elected, in 1856, by the combination of the "better element" of both Whigs and Democrats. He was too able a man to be used by the corrupt conspirators then in their incipiency, he could not be made a tool of, and was shrewd enough to suspect them, but had not the means to effectually oppose them; he was in a measure forced out of the Wigwam, where he had been a leading spirit, and organized what was afterwards known as the "Mozart Hall wing" of the Democracy. Two years later Tammany and Mozart Hall, together, controlled five-sevenths of all the votes cast in the city.

The most exciting episode in Mayor Wood's public career occurred in 1857. During the winter session of the Legislature, at Albany, of 1856-57, a bill was passed depriving the Mayor of the City of New York of all control over the Police Department—the alleged cause being that Mr. Wood had used that body for partisan political service. Acting upon the advice of the Corporation Counsel and of Charles O'Connor, the Mayor determined to resist the imposition of the Metropolitan Police upon the City of New York, by what he deemed the usurped authority of the Legislature. The Mayor of the city, for two hundred years, had exercised the prerogative of control over the Department of Police, and Mr. Wood and his advisers believed the bill which took away this function was unconstitutional (which lawyers still believe). At this time the Chief of Police in New

York was the somewhat renowned George W. Matsell, an extremely efficient officer, as well as an active Democratic politician. He had organized the existing force of police and had got them in fine working order, and was naturally incensed at the interference of the Albany politicians. He valiantly came to the support of the Mayor, in defiance of the Metropolitan intruders. Wood and Matsell, with their voluntary followers, entrenched themselves in the City Hall. Here they were besieged by the newly appointed Metropolitan Police Force, who attacked the City Hall on the 16th of June, but were ignominously repulsed.

The affair began to look serious, and a riot would almost inevitably have followed had not the military authorities ordered out the militia, who threatened to arrest Mayor Wood, on behalf of the State. A parley and armistice followed, both parties agreeing to abide the decision of the Court of Appeals as to the constitutionality of the Act establishing the Metropolitan Police. On appeal, a majority of the Court decided against the Mayor. At the next election for Mayor, Wood was defeated, but he soon regained his popularity. He was again chosen to that office in 1859 and in 1861.

In this eventful period Mayor Wood took an extraordinary attitude. He proposed that New York City and suburbs should secede, not from the Union, not to join the Confederacy, but to create a new political division. His idea was to unite the city with Long Island and Staten Island—neither of which had shown any inclination in that direction—and that these geographical units should coalesce, under the name of Tri-Insular, and proclaim themselves an independent State, thus dividing this section of New York from the old State. His action was untimely.

The Tammany Society, which was always loyal to the Union, repelled this idea with scorn, and at the first opportunity threw Wood over, electing John T. Hoffman the next Mayor of the city. This wild dream of Wood's brought him into great disfavor at that time, so critical for the Union. He went abroad for a year, when this freak seemed to have been forgotten, and, on his return, he was elected to Congress, where he remained from 1863 to 1865, and was again chosen in 1867. The Mozart faction finally joined "the M'Keon Democrats," or most of them did so, some going over to the "People's Party," others into "Citizen's Committees," etc., making different combinations, such, for instance, as elected Godfrey C. Gunther Mayor. After two defeats from rival Democratic factions, Tammany once more rallied and regained its old supremacy. Mr. Wood was very anxious for what he called vindication, and published a card in the papers to the effect that his desires for re-election to Congress was solely for the purpose of a public refutation of the calumnies heaped upon him by his enemies. Thereupon, in response, appeared the following from the pen of one of the ready poetasters of the day:

"The royal prince who reigns in hell
Has been maligned in various matters,
And now would have the people tell
How silly they regard such clatters.

"He asks your votes; 'tis not for pelf,
But to rebuke all saints and sages,
Who say the archangels and himself
Have not been crafties through all ages."

On Madison Square, in New York, there stands a monument to General Worth, of the United States Army. It was erected under the Mayoralty of Fernando Wood, and, therefore, very properly, his name was inscribed on one side of it. When Mayor Wood fell into disfavor, a subsequent Common Council had the puerile idea of erasing his name from this memorial stone, and actually did so, substituting, in its place, the rather trite phrase, "Honor the Brave." Mr. Wood was not lacking in bravery himself, as his defiance of the State authorities proved. Mr. Wood died in Washington in February, 1881.

CHAPTER XXXI.

A "PEACE" MEETING—AFTER THE WAR.



HEN peace had at last been concluded and the results of the war had been to some extent realized, 1865-66, the Tammany people were, above all, anxious that the "dead past bury its dead." Though they missed many from their numbers who had fallen facing the foe, or in the dreary prisons of the South as prisoners of war, there was no rancor in their hearts against the "erring sister States," as the speeches and resolutions at their annual celebration witnessed in July of 1866. Over the platform in the Wigwam was conspicuously placed the bust of Washington draped with the American flag, and above it the mottos:

"One Country—One Constitution—One Destiny: 1776—1866."

On one side was a panel bearing these words: "The Tammany Society, founded in 1789; in its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union. Ever faithful to its obligations; she has added another proof of her devotion, by sending forth her sons to protect and maintain it." On the opposite panel were these words:

"The Democratic party: upon its union and success, depend the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard of patriotism and principles, or to divide its councils, is an enemy to the country."

Around the hall were placed busts of Jackson, Clay, Webster and Franklin, with decorations and patriotic mottos. One of these was draped in mourning. It contained these words and names:

"To the memory of the departed braves:

Shepard,	Froment,
*Vosburg,	Connor,
Purdy,	Kennedy,

Clancy."

An address on this memorable occasion was delivered by the Grand Sachem, Hoffman, who was at that time Mayor of the city. In the course of his remarks he said: "During the years of fearful struggle through which the nation has just passed, old Tammany was thrown wide open as a recruiting place for a class of patriots who were willing to imperil their lives, as well as to talk for their country. Brave men went forth from here, who either died upon the battle field or have returned after an honorable discharge, some whole and well, others with shattered health, or crippled limbs, but all ready to renew their efforts, and to vote for the speedy restoration of that Union for which they hazarded their lives.

* This unique and beautiful monument to Col. Vosburg is in Greenwood Cemetery, near the tall shaft erected to the memory of the Volunteer Soldiers of N. Y. The iron fence enclosing the lot is composed of muskets in reversed position.

"Tammany Hall, true to its ancient record, never faltered in its devotion to the Constitution; and, now that peace has come, it demands that with peace shall also come 'good will to man.'" Mr. Hoffman then went on to argue that the eleven States, having abandoned the heresy of secession, should be allowed immediate representation in Congress, without any lingering term of probation, being kept out only for the sake of radical partisans perpetuating their political power. "No one can doubt the practical patriotism of this Society," continued the orator, "which has shown its faith by its deeds. Among others was that noble brother, William Kennedy, who went forth as the leader of our Tammany Regiment, and died its representative. Before he went he joined us in placing in front of the old Wigwam, in bold letters, Jackson's motto: 'The Union, it must and shall be preserved.' Then there was that whole-souled brother and late Grand Sachem, Elijah F. Purdy, who died a few months before the close of the war, who did excellent service in the same righteous cause, with others too numerous to mention."

At the close of this thrilling address, a long poem, amusing and satirical, was read, and another by Charles F. Olney, dedicated to the Tammany Society. In fact, the Tammanyites seem never to have been lacking either for orators or poets. Mr. Richard O'Gorman, who made a "long talk," commenced by addressing his audience as "Brothers of the Eagle Tribe." This, we think, was a rhetorical error. The Eagle being the symbol of the United States, could not properly be adopted by a fraction only. Undoubtedly, the insignia of the second tribe, the Tiger, as expounded by the great Chief Tammany himself, is the original genuine symbol of the Columbian Order, and has been so regarded for over a century.

The orator then raised his musical, but Cassandra-like voice, in pessimistic threatenings as to the near future of the nation's fate. He said: "I warn you that the Republic is still in danger. The worst of the storm has, indeed, blown over. The ship of State still rides, a proud and gallant sight; but I think she has escaped, more by God's good providence than by good steering, the Scylla of Secession; but she is drifting, slowly but surely, into the Charybdis of Centralization. Can her course be changed? Is there time still to put her head about and to escape the dangers ahead? Have you ever thought what centralization really means? Look back ten or twelve years. Then we in New York scarcely felt the finger of the Federal Government; it carried our letters, collected certain import duties to meet the expenses of the Government, which were trifling; for all other purposes the law of the State of New York was sufficient and supreme. The finger of the Federal Government is now stronger than the arm of the State. We have now let loose on us a cloud of assessors, collectors of taxes, Federal officials of all sorts, prying into every man's transactions, questioning, informing, gathering up the fruit of our industry and pouring it into the central reservoirs at Washington, from which it flows and percolates in corrupting stearms from end to end of the land." With much more in the same line of thought did Mr. O'Gorman continue to expound the views and feelings of the extreme pessimists, so unusual a tone in Tammany Hall. He also expressed his own and the dissatisfaction of many others with the delay in the readjustment measures in Congress, which kept the Southern States in a condition of but semi-Union with the victorious North. He argued that an injury or injustice to any one, or any number of the

States, was an injury to all. "It can never be well with New York," he said, "while it is ill with South Carolina or Tennessee." The sentiment thus plainly expressed was the feeling of nearly all Democrats, whether within or outside of Tammany Hall. At the close of the meeting, ex-Judge Pierrepont offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That when we entered upon the late war, when we put our money, our lives, our reputation in the contest to put down the rebellion, we did it for the sake of preserving the Union, and not for keeping the States out of the Union." This resolution was adopted unanimously.

To prove that these sentiments in favor of prompt reconstruction, were shared by the larger minded men of even the Republican party, we give a few specimen letters, out of many others, showing a wide and discriminating sympathy in the feeling exhibited by Mr. O'Gorman. Of course, those who had participated personally in the war, and had met these Southern soldiers face to face, were far more inclined to conciliation than the platform patriots, who had taken excellent care to keep out of harms way.

Letter from William H. Seward.

July 2d, 1866.

EXECUTIVE MANSION.

"To Hon. John T. Hoffman, Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order.

"DEAR SIR—I have the honor to receive your invitation to participate in the celebration of the National Independence on the approaching 4th of July. I am highly pleased with the form of the invitation. I like the motto which is placed at its head, 'The Union must and shall be preserved.' I like the vignette which illustrates it. I like the associated hues with which it is colored, namely, the red, white and blue. I like the Temple of Liberty upon the rock of the Constitution and protected by the Eagle of the American continent. I like the ships and the railroads, indicative of prosperity and progress. I like the significant conjunction of dates, 1776—1866, a period of ninety years. . . . I have had some differences with Tammany in my time, but I long ago forgot them all, when I recalled the fact that the Society has never failed to observe and honor the Anniversary of our National Independence, and the further fact that during the recent Civil War the Tammany Society sent its sons to fight for the Union, and with unwavering fidelity heartily supported the Federal Government in its struggles with sedition. In view of these facts, I hail the Tammany Society as a true Union League. . . . I believe, with the Tammany Society, that the Union was created to be perpetual; that the States are equal under the Constitution, and that the restoration of that Unity, disturbed by the recent war, ought to be acknowledged and recognized by all the departments of the Federal Government; that a spirit of magnanimity and fraternity should prevail in all our councils, and that the South, having accepted the lessons of the war and relinquished the heresies of secession, should, just so far as she comes in the attitude of loyalty and qualified Representatives, be admitted to her Constitutional Representation. I want, henceforth and forever, no North, no South, no East, no West—no divisions, no sections, no classes, but one united and harmonious people.

"What I have written, I trust, will satisfy the Society that in spirit I shall always be with them when they shall be engaged in renewing and fortifying the National Union.

"I have the honor to be

"Your very obedient servant,

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

Letter from General Grant.

"HEADQURTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE U. S.,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1866.

"To Hon. John T. Hoffman, Mayor of New York, and Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society.

"SIR—Lieutenant-General Grant directs me to acknowledge receipt of an invitation from the Tammany Society to take part in their celebration of the approaching Anniversary of American Independence, and his regret that a previous engagement will oblige him to decline the honor.

"ADAM BEDEAU,
"Brevet-Colonel and Military Secretary."

On the day upon which the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of President Grant's tomb, at Riverside Park, in New York, was performed by President Harrison (April 27, 1892), the morning papers printed the following item: "A special meeting of Tammany Sachems was held at the Wigwam yesterday afternoon. General Horace Porter and General Daniel Butterfield appeared in behalf of the Grant Monument Association. Both spoke of the readiness which the Tammany Society had always shown in taking part in public enterprises, and asked their co-operation in erecting the monument. The Sachems, on motion of Mr. Croker, appropriated $5,000 for the Monument Fund."

"WASHINGTON, July, 1866.

"To Hon. John T. Hoffman, Grand Sachem, Tammany Society or Columbian Order."

"Gentlemen of the Committee of Tammany Society or Columbian Order:

"I have received your invitation to participate in your celebration of the National Anniversary.

"To the honor of your Society it has in all times and under all circumstances, in war and peace, been faithful to the union of the States and the rights of the States. At no period since its organization have its teachings and services been more required than at the present time, when the victorious arms of the Republic, having suppressed the false theory that the Union can be divided by secession or the voluntary withdrawal of a State from its Federal relations and obligations, we are now compelled to encounter the opposite extreme of *compulsory exclusion*, by which the centralists deny to eleven States representation in Congress, which is guaranteed them by the Constitution. The doctrine of compulsory exclusion is scarcely less offensive than that of voluntary secession. Each is fatal to the perpetuity of the Union. I respond most sincerely to the correct and patriotic views expressed in your invitation. I respectfully submit the following sentiment:

" 'The union of the States only to be maintained by a faithful observance of the rights of the States.'

"GIDEON WELLS.

(Secretary of Navy under Lincoln.)

We might fill this volume with letters of similar tenor, if that would add effect to the sentiments so well expressed by these eminent Republicans, but must content ourselves with giving a partial list of the names of distinguished men of both parties and non-partisans who sympathized with the views of Tammany in the matter of prompt reconstruction of the Southern States.

Many of these letters were read. Among the names our readers will recognize some of the most influential and respected statesmen of the period:

President Andrew Johnson,
Gideon Wells,
Secretary of Navy,
Maj.-Gen. W. S. Hancock,
Maj.-Gen. W. B. Franklin,
Brig.-Gen. Barry, U. S. A.
Hon. Nelson Taylor,
Hon. Tunis G. Bergen,
Hon. Samuel J. Tilden,
Hon. Washington Hunt,
Hon. Meyer Strouse,
Hon. Francis Kernan,
Hon. James F. Pierce,
Hon. B. F. Delano,
J. K. Hackett,
Recorder City of N. Y.,
W. F. Allen, Esq.,
Wm. T. Odell, Esq.,
J. V. L. Pruyn, Esq.,
James Maurice, Esq.,
Wm. H. Seward,
Secretary of State.
Maj.-Gen. Grant, U. S. A.,
Maj.-Gen. D. E. Sickles,
Maj.-Gen. D. N. Couch,
Maj.-Gen. H. E. Davies,
Hon. J. P. Stockton,
Hon. James Brooks,
Hon. James De Peyster Ogden,
Hon. D. R. Floyde Jones,
Hon. R. W. Peckham,
Hon. Edwin Crosswell,
W. B. Lawrence, Esq.,
H. A. Nelson, Esq.,
J. S. Bosworth, Esq.,
Harmon S. Cutting, Esq.,
Thos. B. Carroll, Esq.,
Richard Varick, Esq.,
J. Vanderpool, Esq.

Toward the close of the exercises the following resolution was presented by Recorder Hackett:

"The Grand Sachem of the United States [Andrew Johnson], may he soon have at his belt all the radical scalps—leaving them their brains; and before another Fourth of July may he assemble the whole nation around the Council Fire of Old Tammany and smoke with them the Pipe of Peace."

This was passed amid much laughter and hearty cheers. It was then announced that the Council of the Wigwam was closed for 1866.



HORATIO SEYMOUR.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.



ORATIO SEYMOUR, usually called "the War Governor," was so closely affiliated with Tammany in sentiment and feeling, and was also the nominee of the Society for President in 1868, that we feel justified in making special notice of him here, though his home was in the interior of the State. Horatio Seymour was a representative Democrat, allowing no side issues or temporary policies to divert him from the solid principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, which he had adopted early in life. His first entrance into official duties was in 1835, when he became Military Secretary to that staunch Democrat, William L. Marcy, which office he retained for six years, or until he was elected to the Assembly in 1841. The following year he was elected Mayor of Utica. His suburban estate at Deerfield being near that enterprising city, he was soon again returned to the Assembly, and thereafter was kept almost constantly in some representative or official position. But our interest in him centres mainly in the war period, and we omit the details of intervening years. Standing on exact constitutional grounds, he was keenly alive to the necessity of maintaining the Union at any cost. Particularly did he condemn the action of those who made the election of Mr. Lincoln an excuse for disloyalty. At a Democratic ratification meeting held in Utica, on October 28, 1861, Mr. Seymour, after expressing his very natural regret at the failure of his own party to elect their candidate, said: "Mr. Lincoln was chosen in a constitutional manner, and we wish, as a defeated organization, to show our loyalty by giving him a just and generous support."

We next find him as an active member of the committee appointed by Governor Edwin D. Morgan to raise troops in Oneida County; and he not only freely gave of his valuable services to this patriotic object, but aided with substantial funds also. In September, 1862, the Democratic convention again nominated him for Governor. (He had been Governor in 1852.) After a canvass, in which he asserted the right to criticise what appeared to him a wrong policy in the administration of the government, while earnestly sustaining the national authority, he was elected by a handsome majority over his able and popular opponent, General James S. Wadsworth. There were not wanting extremists at this time to charge Governor Seymour with disloyalty. His attitude appeared to be wilfully misunderstood. It was certainly misrepresented. Some of these rumors reached the ears of President Lincoln, who addressed a letter to the Governor, on the 23d of March, 1863, gently suggesting that a personal pledge of loyalty from the Governor of New York would relieve him from some embarrassment. Taking this communication in the right spirit from the much tried and perplexed President, Mr. Seymour responded by sending his own

brother to Washington to assure Mr. Lincoln of his loyal support, though accompanying the assurance with a protest against certain arbitrary arrests which had lately taken place.

In everything pertaining to the raising of troops Governor Seymour's administration exhibited great, even conspicuous energy, and especially efficacious was it, when an enormous effort was made to meet General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, in the early summer of 1863. On the 15th of June the Secretary of War had telegraphed to Governor Seymour asking for help, and in less than three days 12,000 State militia, "well-equipped and in good spirits" were on their way to the capital of the threatened State. Governor Seymour's executive activity was extraordinary. Both President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton sent him their personal thanks for his prompt action. On July 2d, Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, also sent to Governor Seymour for aid, and in two days still additional troops were sent to his relief.

It was while nearly all the available militia of New York City and State had gone to the front that the "draft riots" occurred in the city. What greatly excited the anger of the poorer people was the commutation clause, which provided that a drafted man might procure exemption by the payment of $300. This seemed to many very unjust; as it practically relieved the richer class, while the poor had no escape. There was also a discrimination against New York in the quota required from the city. Governor Seymour endeavored to have this injustice corrected, and also to secure a postponement of the draft; but was not able to effect this in time to prevent the catastrophy which ensued. The draft began on the 11th of July, 1863. On the following day, being Sunday, the names of those drafted were published, and the rioting began. The Governor reached the city that night, and the next day he issued two proclamations—one calling upon all citizens to retire to their homes, and another declaring the city in a state of insurrection. He then began enrolling volunteers to aid in restoring peace, and in getting together the few remaining available troops. On Tuesday he addressed the mob from the steps of the City Hall, his main object being to persuade the rioters to disperse, and so to gain time for the concentration of the force he was collecting to secure order.

In its issue of Wednesday the *Tribune* charged Governor Seymour with having addressed the mob as "My Friends." If this had been true, and he had done so with the intent of securing their attention, this conventional phrase would have been quite justifiable. But, in fact, he did not use the words thus maliciously attributed to him, though for years this falsehood was hurled at him as a reproach. The Deputy-Sheriff of New York at that time was Colonel Thomas Dunlap, who introduced the Governor on the City Hall steps to the surging crowd below. He stood close by his side, and he declares that Governor Seymour addressed the great crowd by these opening words, "Men of New York," and bravely went on to condemn all riotous proceedings, warning them of the fatal consequences which must inevitably follow acts of violence, and finally dissuading them from their intended attack on the *Tribune* building, and induced them to disperse peaceably. He had at the same time a small force of United States troops hidden in the City Hall, which he might have called upon had he

not resolved to avoid bloodshed, if possible. But the wilful misrepresentation of his speech, on that July day in 1863, no doubt, cost him many votes, when nominated for President, in Tammany Hall, in 1868.

The riot, though continuing but little over forty-eight hours proved a costly affair both in property and lives. When all was quiet again, Governor Seymour wrote to the President asking him to have the draft stopped, and proposing to fill New York's quota with volunteers. A Committee of Inquiry was appointed by the War Department, which subsequently admitted that the Act of March 3d, 1863, was "imperfect, erroneous and excessive, especially with reference to the cities of New York and Brooklyn." On the 13th of April, 1864, a Republican Legislature passed a resolution thanking Governor Seymour for his prompt and efficient efforts in pointing out the errors of the enrollment and procuring its correction. Mr. Seymour was offered the Presidential nomination in 1864, but declined it, accepting, however, in 1868. In fact, it was then almost forced upon him; for he fully understood that the interest in General Grant was at that time too strong to be overcome. As he anticipated, the General secured a majority in the Electoral College.

From this time forward ex-Governor Seymour retired from active politics, declining offers of nomination for Senator and other offices. He died in February, 1886. The most remarkable feature of his political life was the persistent and wholly unwarranted misrepresentation to which he was subjected by his political opponents, on the utterly baseless score of disloyalty to the Union.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.



HOUGH in no sense a new man or a new politician, Mr. Tilden came into popular repute as the "ring-breaker" in 1872, but from his youth up he had been a Democratic politician, and from early manhood merited the title of Statesman. He was one of those who early broke away from Tammany on the slavery question. He withdrew from the Baltimore Convention, in 1848, and joined the Democratic Free-Soilers at Utica, where Martin Van Buren was nominated for the Presidency. In 1855 Mr. Tilden was the candidate of the Soft-Shell portion of the Democratic party for the Attorney-Generalship. It has often been asserted, and as often denied, that Tilden was "a Tammany man." The facts are that he was at different times the friend, and then, again, the opponent of Tammany. When that Society was working on what he thought true Democratic principles he was with it; when he thought it failed in that respect, or had fallen under the leadership of unworthy men, he antagonized it. All Democrats in New York City were practically Tammany men up to the period of the first great division of sentiment, which came to a head, politically speaking, in 1848. We do not mean absolutely that there were no opposing factions, but their numbers were neither large enough, nor their lease of life long enough, to interfere seriously with the onward march of the old organization. But the question of free-soil divided the Democracy throughout the land, as it also shattered—yes, killed, the great Whig party.

In 1872 Mr. Tilden was not only back again as a member of Tammany, but was a Sachem of the Wigwam. When Tammany was right, he was there; when he thought it wrong, he was not only out, but in full and open opposition. But it is not necessary here to describe, in detail, Mr. Tilden's connection with Tammany; his attitude has been already interwoven in preceeding pages of this history. We desire, however, to call especial attention to a curious coincidence in Mr. Tilden's political experiences as a "ring-breaker," which does not and should not rest upon his action in the New York affairs of 1871-72. Many years before he had his eyes opened to the frauds being perpetrated by the "gentlemanly gang" who were manipulating the finances of the Erie Canal for their own especial benefit. These parties "were all honorable men," mostly residing in Syracuse, the very city in which was held the convention which nominated Mr. Tilden for Governor in 1874.

The Canal Board was elective, and thus, with proper effort, its control could be wrested from the fraudulent managers, and placed in more honest hands; and this was the work Mr. Tilden proposed to himself to see done when he became Governor. He was elected by the handsome majority of over 50,000. His inauguration took place January 1, 1875. His first message has always been known as the "Canal Message." On close investigation, Mr. Tilden had found that in this provincial city, over two hundred miles distant from "wicked New

York," almost precisely the same fradulent modes of deception and corruption were in full operation by these supposed innocent rustics of no particular political faith; and, curiously enough, about the same amount of money, some fifteen millions, had been wrongfully absorbed and squandered by the "canal ring." It was by the Governor's practical suggestions and influence on succeeding legislation that a salutary change was soon brought about in canal management.

It was in great measure his admirable conduct of State affairs which led to Governor Tilden's nomination for the Presidency in 1876. By the popular vote, his majority over Hayes was 252,224; and in the Electoral College he received 184 votes to 165 for Hayes. It is not necessary to repeat here the story of the great national fraud of our Centennial year. History has judged that act, but not condoned it—nor ever will.

There is now no doubt that Tammany's full vote was brought out in favor of Tilden. John Kelly's choice (he was very influential then) was Sanford E. Church, who had been sounded on the subject of accepting the nomination for the Presidency, which he absolutely declined for himself, under the feeling that neither he nor any New York man could be elected. He thought the Presidency should, at that time, "go to some Western man." Yet, though two such astute politicians as Church and Kelly saw defeat in the nomination, Samuel J. Tilden was elected not only by a large popular vote, but also by a more than sufficient majority in the Electoral College. After Mr. Tilden's death, in the summer of 1886, the following appreciative remarks, from one who knew him well, appeared in a leading Republican paper of Boston: "If you wish to hear kind things said of the dead leader of Democracy, go and talk to the people of Gramercy Park, in New York. They knew the man. He was not the weazened, churlish creature, clutching his barrel of gold, that those amiable gentlemen, the cartoonists, were so fond of picturing, while taking a mean delight in making fun of his physical misfortunes. His neighbors do not remember the brutal cartoons, but they have a warm recollection of a gentle and sunny-tempered old man, who rose superior to racking and cruel bodily tortures, and presented a smiling front at all times."

By his will Mr. Tilden showed his regard for the City of New York by leaving a bequest of several million dollars for the purpose of establishing a free library. Unfortunately, ignoring the good old rule of Blackstone, that when any technical or orthographical obscurity occurs in the wording of a will, that "it should be construed in accordance with the known intention of the testator," these millions have been diverted from the objects which Mr. Tilden had so much at heart—to the great loss of the citizens of New York.

A patriotic niece of Mr. Tilden's has, to the extent of a two million dollar gift, endeavored to have this clause in Mr. Tilden's will carried out.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

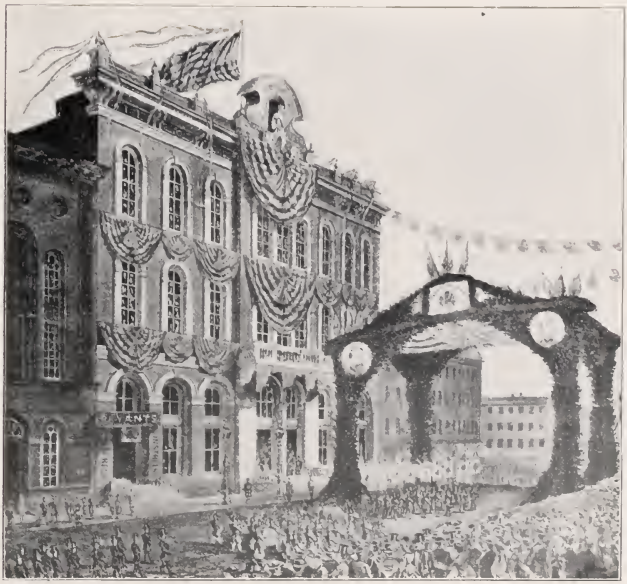
LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF THE NEW WIGWAM.

IN JULY, 1867, the important event of laying the corner-stone of the imposing new Wigwam, in Fourteenth street, was combined with the usual ceremonies which annually mark the National Anniversary, so religiously observed by the Tammany Society since the year of its foundation. The ceremonies of the occasion were abundantly chronicled in the leading daily papers, and brought forth, from the Society, an extra illustrated pamphlet descriptive of the proceedings, in which was also given a picture of the old hall, on the corner of Nassau and Frankfort streets, with a lithograph copy of the corner-stone of the abandoned building. This pamphlet also included Mr. Horton's interesting historical sketch of Chief Tammany.

As the old hall had been given up and the new was not yet built, the Society, on this occasion, occupied Irving Hall, on Thirteenth street—a building subsequently destined to temporary fame, as the resort of a fraction of disaffected Democrats in opposition to Tammany. Here a procession was formed which, with flags, banners and music, marched to the site of the new building on Fourteenth street, adjoining the Academy of Music. The ground, already partly excavated, sloped inward from the sidewalk, forming a sort of amphitheatre for the people to occupy, with the stand for the speakers in the centre. There was an immense assemblage, "on the outer fringe of which were many ladies." A silver trowel, with ivory handle, made for the occasion, was presented to the Grand Sachem, John T. Hoffman, which is thus described: "On one side was engraved an Indian chief, underneath which was the inscription, 'From the Tammany Society to Grand Sachem John T. Hoffman; used in laying the corner-stone of the new hall for the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, July 4th, 1867.'" The other side contained the names of the Grand Sachem and other officers of the Society.

Mr. Hoffman made an eloquent and thrilling address in response to the presentation, and then proceeded to place in the casket the numerous documents and objects selected for the purpose—coins, newspapers, some books, Mr. Horton's historical sketch included; not forgetting a copy of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and, with many modern records, were also deposited all that had been taken from the old corner-stone of the abandoned Wigwam.

When these exercises were over the Society, with many invited guests, and others, returned to Irving Hall. There, as usual, the Declaration of Independence was read, music performed, and an ode, written by one of the editorial staff of the *World*, was read by De Witt Van Buren, Esq. The feature of the occasion, however, was the appearance of the venerable Tammanyite, the Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck, as orator. Mr. Verplanck was then ninety years of age; he had been many years a member of Congress, and had held other honorable positions,



DEDICATION OF THE PRESENT WIGWAM, NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION JULY 4TH, 1868.

federal and civic. There was probably not a man in the city more generally esteemed and respected. Dating from the preceding century, he had witnessed Tammany's early history, and had personally known all of its distinguished members. Realizing that this had probably been one of the reasons why he had been selected as the orator of the occasion, he announced his intention to make his address largely reminiscent—pleasant change from the sometimes over fervent patriotism of the ordinary political addresses.

Mr. Verplanck remembered the early Wigwam that was occupied by the Society, the little wooden building adjoining Martling's tavern on Nassau street, which was, in 1789, part of the site whereon the large building was erected in 1811, and which, after an occupancy of sixty-five years, had just been abandoned. It was located in the present Printing House Square. At that time there was an open common just beyond where the City Hall, not then built, now stands. It seems hardly credible to the present generation of New Yorkers that at the period within Mr. Verplanck's recollection there were three States which ranked above New York, both in wealth and population; namely, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Though the Tammany Society then occupied very humble quarters, they had, from their very formation, a marked influence on political questions, which influence constantly increased with the passing years, and was most pronounced by 1801, when, it may be said, with truth, that the Tammany Society secured the election of Thomas Jefferson. For it is certain that if Tammany had favored De Witt Clinton, he would have been President, instead of Jefferson. De Witt Clinton was a member of Tammany, as was the elder Clinton, George, who was also Governor of the State.

Among distinguished men at that time, and later, who were active members of Tammany was General Horatio Gates, Brockholts Livingston, the elegant scholar and eminent Judge of the Superior Court of New York; Edward Livingston, the distinguished lawyer, literateur and statesman, author of "Livingston's Code," prepared for the State of Louisiana, at the request of its Legislature. Another eminent member was Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, the "War Governor" of 1812; he it was who, in the depression preceeding that war, roused to action the people of New York, many of whom, as merchants, opposed hostilities at that time, for financial reasons. Tammany supported him; and soon this action gave confidence and courage to the whole land. Again, when Jackson fulminated his proclamation against the incipient secession of South Carolina, in 1832, "It was you," exclaimed Verplanck, as he looked in the faces of the older Tammany men, "it was you who arose to the occasion, and proclaimed your allegience to the doctrines announced by the President. From that time," he added, "you have gone on, through evil report and good report, though assailed by calumny, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, uniformly supporting the just rights of the States and also those of the Federal government, and as steadily opposing every usurpation of authority by either."

Resuming his thread of reminiscences, Mr. Verplanck remarked that, though many of their members were hard-handed sons of toil, in the mechanic arts and other useful labors, the Society had always contained conspicuously able and talented men, whom the members of other parties were constrained to respect. He referred to the well-known name of Bloodgood, a successful merchant in the Swamp, (a section of the city, the centre of the wholesale leather trade); and,

later, a magnate in Wall Street; to John Remmy, a scientific geographer and historian; to James Campbell, for many years Surrogate, a sound lawyer and highly esteemed citizen; to John T. Irving, for many years Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and a fine scholar; Judge Irving was one of the original founders of the Society, and an active financial manager in erecting the old hall, in 1811. His elder brother, William, also a member, was for years a Representative in Congress. He was both a prose writer and a poet.

All the literary people knew James Kirke Paulding, with his record in the Navy, as well as his valuable writings, a friend and co-laborer with Washington Irving, and raised to a Cabinet position by President Van Buren. He was a faithful member of the Tammany Society. One of the best services which he performed, for literature and the credit of his country, was his pertinent and forcible response to that crop of traveling English critics, such as Basil Hill, of the British Navy; Captain Hamilton, of the British Army; the Rev. (?) F. Tiddler, of the English Church, and their lesser imitators, sustained and encouraged by the then editors of the famous *Quarterly Review.* Among the distinguished members of Tammany, we must not forget Mayor Stephen Allen, who held the office of Grand Sachem; a man of stern virtue and sound sense. No "old Roman" exceeded him in the strictness of his integrity. We can only compare him to a Cincinnatus or a Fabercius. He was four years in the State Senate, and while there a watchful and bold guardian of the public welfare. At that period of our State history Senators were ex-officio members of the Appelate Court, for the Correction of Errors; and, in this capacity, Mr, Allen greatly distinguished himself by the keenness of his insight and his desire to do exact justice. A contemporary of the latter, Mr. Gideon Lee, in another direction honored the membership of the old Wigwam. He had a taste for two different sciences, chemistry and finance, upon which he gave frequent lectures. In applied chemistry, tanning was his pet subject, and in this matter he greatly aided the business, then comparatively new in New York. His scientific advice often proved of great value to the old leather merchants of the Swamp, and elsewhere. Mr. Lee also held, at different times, responsible offices of civic trust.

Mr. Verplanck next referred, in terms of special eulogy, to one of his college friends, Mr. Alpheus Shuman, a State Senator, and orator of the day on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone in 1811. Of course, Elijah F. Purdy, "the Old War Horse of Tammany," could not be left out of this long list of worthies and of Sachems. He was a peer of the active men of Governor Tompkins' time; a man of the utmost integrity, and of a remarkably cheerful, hopeful temper; but the source of his widespread influence was neither of these qualities, which were possessed in common with many other of the brethren; but, in a most remarkable and earnest degree, he had the welfare of the people always uppermost in his heart. And the people knew it. There was never any danger of his trimming or shifting to fill his sails with a popular breeze.

Grand Sachem Bowne, who was also Mayor of New York, was highly lauded by the orator, as also Grand Sachem Romaine, as men of sterling probity and as Fathers in the Columbian Order. At the conclusion of this interesting address, a large number of letters, from distinguished invited guests, were read, including one from the President of the United States, after which the Chairman introduced to the audience the Hon. S. S. Cox, who commenced his speech with that pleas-

ing familiarity which made him such a universal favorite with the public. "Brothers of Tammany," he said, "your Society, with its Indian name, is but the outward symbol of an inward thought. That thought is—Democracy, unappalled and defiant. Your traditions, wrapped in aboriginal metaphor, have more meaning than reach the ear. Your traditions represent your Chief Tammany as in constant conflict with Evil Spirits, whom he finally drove from the land. He was also represented as most generous and chivalrous to his enemies, whom, when victorious, he surprised by his kindness and clemency. Indeed, every lesson which a State requires is taught by your legends. Allow me to imagine that his spirit yet lingers on the shores of the beautiful Muskingum—my own native valley. And there is the wonderful Indian mound, so often described. Who were these mound-builders, unless they were the early tribes of Tammany? Certainly, no antiquitarian has had the hardihood to deny that there exists one grand and particular tumulus, reared with great labor and geometrical proportions, for the immortalization of Tammany.

"Long before I became a citizen of New York I had an instinctive inclination towards you. Your Society has an influence by no means limited to the City or State of New York. The Democracy of a nation looks to Tammany to blaze out, through the political wilderness, its future warpath. New York is the focus of American civilization. Her destiny is in your keeping. As of old, so now New York should stand between the sections as arbiter and moderator."

Among the scores of letters which were read on this occasion, we select one as a specimen of the feeling then prevalent among Democrats of all sections of the country. It is from the great Virginia orator, Montgomery Blair. It is dated:

WASHINGTON, July 1st, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

I thank the Sachems of Tammany for the invitation to attend the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of their new edifice. * * * I feel encouraged by the fact that this ancient and patriotic Society is about to erect an edifice of massive proportions and enduring strength in the metropolis, which is to be the headquarters of the Democracy of the Union. It gives promise that the battle for the Union of the States and the rights of the States is to be continued in earnest, and this I hope will vitalize an organization to which alone we can look for success in that struggle. The men of the school of old Tammany should go to work earnestly to overthrow the military despotism and corruption of which Radicalism was born, and on which it lives. * * * Let us pit against this reproduction of old Federalism, in its worst aspects, the Democracy of old Tammany, which fought against treason and disunion, but held to the just rights of the States, an honest adherence to the Constitution and frugal administration of the government. We are sure to win.

M. BLAIR.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Grand Sachem.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN, who presided throughout these lengthened ceremonies, is well remembered both as Governor of the State of New York, and as Mayor of the city. He was also for several years Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, and a very influential force in the councils of the Democratic party, not only in his own State, but wherever the interests of the party called the wisest heads together to consider ways and means—either to carry elections, or to circumvent objectionable legislation by their political opponents. He had been educated for the Bar, and had a wide practice in the City of New York, but business could not consume all his energies and interest. Public affairs always had a natural charm for him, and nature had endowed him with a good capacity for the exercise

of public functions. He was an excellent speaker and presided with peculiar grace and efficiency at large public meetings. He first joined the Tammany Society in 1854, reaching the highly complimentary position of Grand Sachem by a sort of natural fitness, that could not be overlooked by his fellow members. By Tammany's aid, he was elected Recorder in 1860. It was while he occupied this judicial position that the terrible "draft riots" took place in New York, and many of the participants who were arrested were brought before him for trial. To those clearly convicted of wanton mischief and cruelty, as many were, he showed no leniency, his sentences were even thought severe, but in every case they were discriminatingly just. In 1865 Mr. Hoffman was elected Mayor of New York, and re-elected in 1867. In 1866 he had been nominated for Governor, but was defeated by Mr. Fenton. This, in most cases, would have discouraged the friends of any candidate, but it was not so with the admirers of Mr. Hoffman; they were so sure that he ought to be Governor, that he was again selected as the standard-bearer of the Democracy, which, in 1870, succeeded in placing him in the Gubernatorial chair.

Mr. Hoffman was so highly esteemed as a judicial officer that many of those politicians who cared more for the interests of the city than for the advancement of individual fortunes, were very unwilling to see him exchange the position of Recorder for any other. Among those anxious to keep him in his judicial seat was Charles G. Halpine, the ever-ready poet, who harnessed his pen to practical uses as part of his profession. He thus warns Mr. Hoffman against accepting the nomination for Mayor, which advice, however, was not regarded:

"Well. Hoffman, dear, the thing looks queer—
The machine doesn't run to order.
And despite the Ring's views, we're not willing to lose
Your services as Recorder.
'Tis a fine old place, which we think you grace,
Arrayed in the Judge's ermine;
And 'twould make us despair, if we saw you made Mayor,
As the tool of the Lobby-ring vermin.
And so John T., we will let you be,
Till your term expires as Recorder;
And, when played in that game, we'll examine your claim,
To another position in order."

The poet was wrong this time; Mr. Hoffman was elected Mayor, and filled that office as satisfactorily as he had that of Recorder.

Gulian C. Verplanck, the orator of the day in 1867, is eminently worthy of special notice among the long list of distinguished scholars and statesmen who have been connected with the Tammany Society. He was one of the leading literary men of his day in New York. Besides his large work on "The Advantages and Dangers of the American Scholar," he wrote many valuable essays and delivered a large number of lectures on most varied subjects, art, education, history, politics and law. Gulian C. Verplanck was born in the City of New York in 1786; was a graduate of Columbia College, and was one of those referred to in a previous chapter, who resented the action of the President of the College in refusing a diploma to a graduate, for the reason that the student had dared to express his own opinions, instead of those suggested to him by a certain professor. Mr. Verplanck, with some others, was arrested and fined for having, on that account,

interrupted the commencement proceedings which were being held in Trinity Church. After his admission to the Bar, Mr. Verplanck spent a considerable period in European travel; returning to New York, he thenceforward divided his time between literature and politics. In the former, he was the leader in a famous coterie of authors, and, in the latter, he figured as an active member and wise adviser of Tammany Hall. He was elected to Congress in 1825, and served until 1832. He was for many years President of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A DARK SHADOW.



S WE approach the seventh decade of the century, we encounter in the history of the Tammany Society the greatest misfortune which has ever befallen it. In 1871 the *Times*, one of the leading newspapers of the city, commenced the publication of a series of charges against certain public officials. The leading persons attacked were A. Oakey Hall, at that time Mayor of New York; Richard B. Connolly, Comptroller of both City and County; Peter B. Sweeney, Commissioner of the Public Parks, and William M. Tweed, Commissioner of Public Works. There were other persons involved, but these composed what was understood by "the ring." The *Times* had circumspectly gathered all the necessary facts, and the proofs of the truth of its charges, very adroitly; showing a continued system of defrauding the city of immense sums of money, conclusively, in the case of some of the persons named, constructively, in the case of others. Altogether, less than half a dozen names were seriously involved; but the peculations had been enormous. It was evident that no one person could have carried through these frauds successfully. So clearly was the case made out that the citizens, who had, at first, been somewhat indifferent over these alleged revelations, finally became aroused to the reality and magnitude of the charges. Citizens became excited, and, American-like, a public meeting was called, to discuss the matter. Tweed, with the insolence of success, had sarcastically asked, "What are you going to do about it?" little thinking, when he propounded that query, what the response would be.

On the 4th of September, 1871, a public meeting was held in the large hall of the Cooper Union Building, called by a committee of seventy leading citizens and business men, at the head of which was the Hon. William F. Havemeyer. The hall was packed with an excited, but orderly crowd, including many merchants, and others of large financial interests, to whom the management of the city finances was a matter of practical importance.

But while many citizens, including the Committee of Seventy, had not only been talking, but considering ways and means how best to proceed to a remedy, one of the leading Democrats of the country, a most distinguished citizen, not only of the State of New York, but of the United States, had been quietly at work preparing the case for legal action. This skillfull lawyer was Samuel J. Tilden, upon whose affidavit Tweed was finally arrested, on the 26th of October, but, to the surprise of the whole community, the accused was admitted to bail in the paltry sum of only $1,000, though the values involved amounted to millions. Very curiously, as it now seems, at the ensuing State election in November, Tweed was elected to the State Senate. But this support of his personal followers did not deter the friends of good government from following up the guilty official. On

complaints preferred, the Grand Jury, on the 6th of December, found a true bill against William M. Tweed for felony. He was again arrested. Some of his friends procured a writ of habeas corpus. He was brought before Judge George G. Barnard, and again released on $5,000 bail. He now, December 29, resigned his office as Commissioner of Public Works; nor did he venture to take his seat in the Senate.

The Society of Tammany, as his guilt became apparent, ejected him from its membership, and elected to his office another of their members, a man of stainless integrity, and a well-known citizen, Augustus Schell.

The end of Tweed is well known. He was finally convicted of felony, in the embezzelment of city funds; was sentenced to imprisonment, from which he subsequently escaped, and made his way out of the country; was recaptured in Spain through the aid of General Sickles, and returned to jail, where he died. He was buried in his beautiful family plot in Greenwood. Mayor A. O. Hall declared that *he* had only acted ministerially in signing his name to the fradulent bills, many of which were absolute forgeries, and claimed that he had no responsibility as to their correctness: he was indicted, but two successive juries failed to convict him. Shortly after he left the country and made his permanent residence in London for many years, having returned (in 1892) to New York. When these investigations were going on the office of the Comptroller, Connolly, showed a monstrously corrupt condition of affairs. The city debt had more than doubled in less than three years, being at the time of these events $113,000,000, which was $63,000,000 more than when Mayor Hall, whose appointee he was, took office.

The difficulty of proving many of the charges of peculation against the ring was immensely enhanced by the discovery, one morning, that three thousand five hundred vouchers had disappeared from the Comptroller's office, said to have been stolen. When this was announced Mayor Hall asked Connolly to resign, but he had the audacity to still cling to his office, until that staunch Democrat, William F. Havemeyer, made him see its necessity, by indicating the certainty of his arrest, if he persisted in remaining. Andrew H. Green, another well-known Democrat, of great financial ability, and as safe as he was able, was made Deputy Comptroller, and the finances of the city were all put practically under his control. Mr. Green had been at the head of the Central Park Commission previously. He it was who subsequently found the ashes of the lost vouchers in an abandoned attic room in the City Hall. The banks of the city had so much confidence in Mr. Green's integrity, he being at the time a member of Tammany, that they voluntarily advanced him $2,000,000 for temporary use, until the finances of the city could be regulated.

It is rather remarkable, and worth observing, that the most active persons in unearthing and destroying this corrupt ring of city officials were not only Democrats, but members of the Tammany Society. Without the "still hunt" and persevering labors of Samuel J. Tilden, assisted by the great Democratic Lawyer, Charles O'Connor, the disclosures of the newspapers and the speeches of excited citizens would have failed of any practical result. At the time of these occurences no sensible, clear-headed person thought of accusing the whole Tammany Society (as has since been done) of participation in these frauds. The wrongs were committed because the individuals concerned in them were conscienceless rascals, not because they were of this society or that. If they had been adherents of any other

political party with the same opportunities and temptations before them, the result would have been the same. The cause was in the individual nature, and had nothing to do with political affiliations.

That opposing partisans have seized upon the fact of their connection with Tammany Hall to throw odium upon all the members of that body shows not only a disposition to injustice, but that kind of weakness of intellect which mistakes vituperation for argument. This is not the writer's opinion only, as may be learned by reading the proceedings of a meeting held in the Chamber of Commerce, on September 23, 1871. The Committee on Address reported thus on the subject: "We have given all the aid in our power to the honest members of the party dominant here (the Tammany party), and which is particularly humiliated by scoundrels who have misused their official opportunities for their own personal aggrandizement."

At one of the meetings held at Cooper Union, the Hon. R. B. Roosevelt said: "I do not know whether it is exactly possible for a man to be born a Democrat, but I claim to come as near it as any one can. Certainly, from my earliest youth I have upheld staunchly and unswervingly the great doctrines of Democracy; for Democracy is like vaccination, when it once takes well hold it lasts a lifetime. But, as I did not believe disloyalty to mean Democracy during the war, so I do not believe dishonesty to mean Democracy now."

"The corner-stone of the Democratic faith is the pure, economical administration of government. To us Democrats, therefore, comes the charge of corruption against our rulers with a two-fold force—an especial horror. These improper Tammany nominees were elected by the evident connivance of Republican Inspectors of Elections, who were bought up for one or two dollars apiece. But we must crush this ring, or the ring will crush us."

With much more to the same purport did this eloquent Democrat condemn the wrongdoers, while sympathising with the party who was suffering from their ill deeds, though having had no part or lot in their crimes.

That Tweed was elected to the Senate while these charges were openly made is partly explained by the fact that, when first accused by the public prints, a great many persons did not believe them to be true,* but regarded them as mere campaign canards; while, in his own especial district, there lived a large class of persons, mechanics and laborers, who had been greatly benefited by the numerous public works which he had inaugurated, added to the fact that he was personally a generous and kind-hearted man, though proving so utterly unscrupulous in his management of the public funds. With his election, Tammany, as a society, had nothing to do.

The tendency of human nature to select from among a combination of criminals one as a special scapegoat, appears to be inherent in the human race. And thus it happened that the name of Tweed has been the representative chosen to bear all the sins of the fraudulent conspirators of 1870-71. It is, however, the proper task of the historian to trace effects to their causes, and, as it is self-evident that no one man can create legislation to suit himself, without the aid of many

* That William M. Tweed rated well at this time in public estimation, we refer to the fact that he was selected to introduce the Bill Incorporating the LENNOX LIBRARY, January 12, 1870.

others, we propose to see who those others were. That frauds of more or less magnitude had been going on for some time previous to 1870 is tolerably certain, but in that year was passed, in the Legislature, at Albany, an "amended," or, more truly speaking, an altered charter for the City of New York, since known as the "Tweed Charter." How was this accomplished?

The Legislature of 1867, "amended" the City Charter by providing that six Supervisors should be chosen by a Board selected from the two political parties. To the inexperienced this seemed just and fair; to the astute politician the result was seen to be fatal. It naturally opened the way to vicious deals; because neither party could be held responsible for the acts of the Board, cutting off at the same time the watchful criticism of opponents. If the political complexion of the Board had been wholly or mainly composed of one political tint, the city would have been the gainer; for, under the equal division system, whatever was wrongly done, neither party felt disposed to bring public censure upon its proceedings. Just at this juncture, Mr. A. Oakey Hall was elected Mayor. Tweed was already in the State Senate; and, as subsequently appeared, actually controlled a majority of that body, through the substantial considerations he had it in his power to offer. The Charter which he so successfully engineered through, gave all the power of the local administration into the hands of four persons, viz., the Mayor, the Comptroller, the Commissioner of Public Works, and the Commissioner of Parks, not by the title of these offices merely, but by name to the persons then in possession of these offices—Hall, Connolly, Tweed and Sweeney—for periods varying from four to eight years; so, that no matter how these departments were conducted, or misconducted, citizens had no remedy.

This charter had passed the Assembly without special trouble, but would have been blocked in the Senate, probably as a Democratic measure, had not Tweed foreseen and provided for the anticipated obstruction. He simply bought up eight Republican Senators, which gave him sufficient votes to get the bill through. Most of this venal bargaining was brought about by the promise of certain offices being reserved for the unfaithful Republicans. That these facts were substantiated at the time of their occurrence, it is only necessary to refer to the daily papers of that date to be convinced. The New York *Times* boldly commended the Tammany party for its good faith, saying, four days after the division of offices had been made: "The Tweed party has not manifested the slightest disposition to evade its bargain, or to prevaricate. . . . There was something to be bought, and plenty of money to buy it."

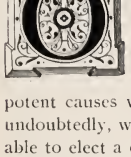
On August 17, 1870, there appeared in the *Times* the following explanation of how the charter was obtained: "Tweed and Sweeney had the votes already bought up, of all the Republican Senators, only one (Thayer) voted against it." Again, the same paper asserted, April 12, 1871, "That but for the aid of the Republicans, the Tammany Democracy might have been beaten by Democratic resistance," and, later, reiterated that "the charter could not have been passed without the help of the Republicans, and that the credit is as much theirs as it is that of the Tweed Democracy." In 1870 this same *Times* had ridiculed the efforts of the Reform Union League, and exulted in Tweed's success. But in 1871 it had materially changed its tone, saying, on August 17, 1871: "There were a few indignant protests against the scheme, uttered by such high-toned Democrats as

Samuel J. Tilden, but they were without effect, for Tweed and Sweeney had the votes already bought up." Besides this venal Legislature, were not the corrupt subsidized judges, the Broadway Bank (which facilitated the operations of the ring), and the contractors, manufacturers and mechanics, who were paid fraudulent and forged bills, all parties to the crimes of Tweed? And does it not present a curious condition of partisan feeling and ineradicable prejudice that for over a quarter of a century the political opponents of Tammany still continue to refer to that single event as a proof that the Democrats of New York city are irretrievably corrupt, notwithstanding the fact that it was the most distinguished Democrat in the city and State who brought the head conspirator to justice; also persistently ignoring the fact that Tammany Hall promptly ejected from its councils and membership all concerned in the frauds—continuing to talk, even up to this day, as if the deplorable incident of 1871 was a permanent condition of the Columbian Order.

To add to the measure of Republican inconsistency, in this respect, it is only necessary to recall the immensely greater and more permanently corrupting kinds of frauds which have been either excused, tolerated, or applauded by the "party of all the virtues." A really amusing confirmation of this statement is furnished by that staunch Republican, Stephen M. Allen, in his book entitled "The Old and New Republican parties." On pp.166-238, he gives an epitome of what each administration had done for the country, from Washington's to the end of Rutherford B. Hayes'; but, apparently appalled at the corruption of Grant's, he does not venture to describe that administration, but, instead, gives a sketch of the General's personal military career!

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GREELY CAMPAIGN.



NE of the curious episodes of the Tammany Society's history is the part taken by the organization in the National political campaign of 1872, in which a large portion of the Democratic forces worked and voted for their life-long opponent and former merciless critic, Horace Greely, the sometime Whig, and, later, Republican editor of the *Tribune*. There were two potent causes which led to this extraordinary proceeding. The first reason, undoubtedly, was that there was no reasonable prospect of the Democracy being able to elect a candidate of their own, and the candidate of the Republicans was more objectionable than the vituperative editor, who was, at least, honest, and fought fair. But a better and affirmative reason was found in the fact that the platform adopted by the original Greely men was such as any Democrat could support without serious objections. In 1872 the Grant Administration was so strongly entrenched, and was using the opportunities of power with such a lavish, not to say unscrupulous hand, that the case looked hopeless of any improvement to be expected from his party. But light, at last, broke out from an unlooked for quarter; there was actually a revolt among the Republicans themselves. Some of the more thoughtful and conscientious among them perceived, with prophetic vision, the centralizing and corrupting tendencies of the partisan majority in Congress, and determined to try and stem the tide of extravagance and corruption that threatened to overwhelm the nation.

The reforming party took the name of Liberal Republicans. Their immediate object was to bring the people back to a sense of the danger which a continued violation of constitutional obligations involved. This was in exact accordance with the opinions of all conservative Democrats, and proved a great attraction to them. A convention was called to meet at Cincinnati, from whence the leaders, in this movement, issued an address, justifying their repudiation of the old Republican party. In this address they say: That the administration (Grant's) now in power has wantonly disregarded the laws of the land, and usurped powers not granted by the Constitution, and has acted as if the laws were only made for those governed, and not for those who govern; thus striking at the fundamental principles of constitutional government, and the liberty of the citizen. The President has used his office for personal ends, has kept about him corrupt and unworthy men, and has stimulated demoralization by rewarding those who made him valuable presents, keeping others in office by the unscrupulous use of power." The convention invited the co-operation of all patriotic citizens.

The platform put forth by this body of Liberal Republicans was received with great favor by the leading Democrats of the country. Horatio Seymour was one of the first to come out publicly in its favor. Its principal features were as follows: "The recognition of the equality of all men before the law. The inviolability of the Constitutional Amendments. Universal amnesty. Local self-gov-

ernment. Impartial suffrage. The reform of the civil service. The remission of the tariff question to the action of Congress. The sacredness of the public credit. Opposition to farther land grants to corporations. A dignified, but peaceful foreign policy." Such a platform could not fail to receive the approbation of all liberal Democrats; but that the Liberal Republicans could not find a more fit candidate than Horace Greely is one of those political mysteries which has never been explained, probably because it is inexplicable, except, possibly, on the supposition that all clear-headed politicians knew that electoral success was impossible, and the reformers were well aware that all their candidate could be was a figure-head, and, therefore, they could get no one else to accept the rôle of standing up merely for the purpose of being knocked down. Probably there was not a man in the United States who believed Greely could be elected but Horace himself.

A Liberal Republican and Democratic rally took place at Cooper Institute on the first of November, on which occasion Mr. Augustus Schell nominated John Kelly for Chairman, as "a sterling Democrat and an honest man." The nominees of the Liberal Republicans were adopted at this meeting; they were also adopted by Tammany Hall, by the National Reformed Democracy, and, indirectly, by the Apollo Hall faction, which had some time previously broken away from the old Wigwam. It is also to be noted that at this ensuing election Tammany Hall supported, for Judge of the Supreme Court, W. H. Leonard, the judge before whom the famous "ring" suits had been tried.

Greely received a popular vote of 2,834,079. Grant's majority was 762,991. A sufficiently crushing defeat, but it was worse in the Electoral College, in which Greely received only the vote of five States. He was really the victim of a political combination formed under the impulse of the popular saying, "Anything to beat Grant," but the movement was defeated, in the main, by the "soldier vote," on sentimental rather than on political grounds. Horace Greely died a few weeks after his defeat, worn out with mental and physical exertion, increased by a domestic calamity, disappointment, and, above and worse than all, the loss of his controlling position on the *Tribune*, which had passed into other hands. It was frequently said, publicly, during the exciting contest of 1892, that David B. Hill was the first and only aspirant for the Presidency that ever made a personal canvas in his own behalf. This is not true. Mr. Greely took the stump for himself and his ticket, going to speak in nearly all of the Eastern, Middle and Southern States. With the most damaging result, as above stated, he had, however, the grace to defer this tour until after his nomination.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FOURTH OF JULY 1873.



Y 1873 Tammany had almost entirely recovered from the shock inflicted upon her by the expelled members, and the annual celebration of that year was carried out with a fresh infusion of enthusiasm. The marked feature of this occasion was the very special interest which was awakened by the reading of the Declaration of Independence; a stranger might have imagined that, instead of its being a document which they knew by heart, it was being listened to for the first time. There was a cause for this. A great many Democrats, at that period, felt that the general government was usurping powers somewhat after the fashion of royal rulers, and when that portion of the Declaration was reached containing the colonists' indictment of their oppressor, King George, with his unjustifiable taxation, and the annoyance of his meddlesome troops, many of those present thought they perceived a striking resemblance in the conduct of the Federal government, especially in the partially reconstructed States, and the audience manifested this appreciation in a very lively manner.

Mr. Clarkson N. Potter was the orator of the day. After referring to the material prosperity of the country and its "growing political corruption," as he expressed it, he could not forbear reverting to the Society's disaster of the preceding year. Among other remarks, he said: "While men without principle, seeking personal profit, through political organizations, call themselves Republicans in Philadelphia, and Democrats in New York, in order to wield the influence, and control the patronage of the party, for personal and selfish ends, until only now and then some flagrant enormity raises a temporary indignation, and the unworthy are driven out—as these walls bear witness, from the power which they have abused, and from the shelter of the names and the society which they have outraged." He then earnestly besought his audience to revert to the "old gospel of government," namely, that this Union of States and its government was created for the benefit of the governed, not for the benefit of the party governing, including the theory that power should be legally localized, as likely to be better administered thus; for the reason that local authorities were nearer to and better acquainted with the needs of the people whom they represented. . . . Resenting the charge that Democrats had favored the continuance of slavery, he said: "Those Democrats who espoused the cause of the South did so, not because they favored slavery, but they favored the States as States which had helped to form the Union, and whose rights as States were encroached upon."

Hon. Abraham Lawrence followed in some very energetic and practical remarks, in which he warned the members of the organization that if they would fully recover their standing and perpetuate Democratic principles, they could only hope to do so by putting forward as candidates for office, pure, able and honest men, who are desirous of giving the city good government, men who believe in economy—not meaning by that to stop public works, but to stop squandering

and extravagance. Hon. S. S. Cox, in his brilliant manner, after other pertinent remarks, quoted Governor Dix as affirming that "Democracy and National Freedom are identical."

Among the many cheering letters received on this occasion we can make space for only one from ex-Governor Horatio Seymour. He addressed the Grand Sachem thus: "I feel a deep interest in everything which concerns your ancient and honorable Society. If at any time its history has been stained by the conduct of unworthy men, we must bear in mind that their control was short lived in comparison with its long continued and patriotic record. The best and wisest citizens of our country have been proud to be ranked among its members. It would be a public loss if one of the oldest societies in our country should be allowed to lose any of its activity or usefulness, and especially a society which can show such a long list of distinguished members, unequaled by any other corporation in our land. If at any time it has been perverted from its proper purposes, honest and high-toned men must take charge of its management, and restore it to its old and honored position. . . . I believe your Society is about to enter upon a renewed course of usefulness. I know that good citizens of all political parties approve of your efforts to make it again a society which aims to advance the welfare of our people, and to uphold good government.

"I am truly yours,

"July 2, 1873. "Horatio Seymour."



JOHN KELLY.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

JOHN KELLY.



MONG the more modern Sachems of the Tammany Society none has been more popular, for a time at least, than John Kelly. He was a native of the City of New York, and early identified himself with the Democratic party, which practically meant the Tammany Society; for, in his early manhood, there was no other organization of any importance calling itself Democratic. He was a faithful and energetic worker, maintaining his friendly relations with the Wigwam until the troublous times of 1871, when he temporarily withdrew. For many years Mr. Kelly was always spoken of with the popular prefix of "Honest." It was when he was in Congress, in 1857, that this sobriquet was first applied to him; it was the favorite term with which General Lewis Cass was accustomed to speak of him. Another of his fellow-Congressmen, and one not noted for his love of Northern politicians, had marked the absolute integrity of Mr. Kelly's course in Congress. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, said of him, after an acquaintance of twenty-five years, addressing a fellow-member: "I have often said, and I now repeat it, that I regard John Kelly as the ablest, the purest and the truest statesman I have ever met with from New York." Kelly made his mark in Congress more especially in his arguments against the proposed measures of the Know-Nothing party. He had been elected to a second term, when, in 1866, he was elected to the lucrative office of Sheriff of New York. The meeting at which he was nominated was held in Masonic Hall on November 18th, and was presided over by the Hon. Nelson J. Waterbury, who introduced him as the "reform candidate." The object of these reforming Democrats was to wrest the power from the corrupt junta and their Republican allies at that time maladministering the affairs of Tammany, as well as of the city.

The Republican convention was held the next day, on which occasion the members of that party in collusion with the Tweed ring sought to force through a straight Republican ticket (knowing that it could not be elected), as the best way to secure the election of A. O. Hall. But there were obstacles to this plan; for there was a considerable body of reformers at that time in the Republican, as well as in the Democratic party. Some of these favored the nomination of Kelly for Mayor, but not all. In this muddled condition of affairs the influential *Herald* most unexpectedly came out against Mr. Kelly, on the somewhat illogical, absurd ground that he had been sufficiently honored already. The editor, Bennett, who knew John Kelly personally, said, in his paper: "John Kelly is a good citizen, and a respectable man, but he has been elected by the Tammany Democrats, to whom he owes all his past political favors, to the offices of Councilman, Alderman, Member of Congress, and twice to the valuable office of Sheriff of New York, being the only man, we believe, who has held that office a second time. We should think he would be satisfied, and give place to others who have not enjoyed such good fortune."

Later, on November 20, 1868, the *Herald* came out in favor of Mr. Hall for Mayor of New York, and wound up this tergiversation by roundly denouncing John Kelly for "deserting Tammany Hall, and joining with the enemies of Tweed." But the *Herald* was not exactly omnipotent in the land—the voters had something to say. And in the position which Kelly had taken he was supported by all the most respectable Democrats of the country.

* * *

The names of the Sachems in the years 1871—72, and a comparison of these with those of 1872—73, will show plainly enough, to those familiar with New York society, the immense change which was involved in the overthrow of the former. In 1871 we have the following names of the most influential officers, viz., Tweed, Connolly, Sweeney, Hall, Dowling and Garvey, with others. In the latter part of 1872 and 1873 we find the Grand Sachem Augustus Schell, and of the Sachems such honorable gentlemen as Charles O'Connor, Samuel J. Tilden, John Kelly, Horatio Seymour, Sanford E. Church, August Belmont, Abram S. Hewitt, and other names of that quality. The Committee of Seventy, which began the work of demolition so valiantly, as is usually the case where large numbers are concerned, had really left nearly all the practical work in a few hands. Tilden and O'Connor manipulated the fine law-points, but it took John Kelly to manage the rank and file.

At this time Kelly could have had any office which he desired, but he would accept none, not wishing to give any possible occasion to the thought that he was working against his old associates for personal ends. But he it was who really won the battle in the convention which met to make nominations in 1872. At that meeting, on its first session, the hall was crowded with the most noisy, coarse and disreputable followers of the old gang; and to overcome this element involved the severest political struggle ever fought out in the local politics of the Empire State. On this occasion Mr. Kelly had to confront an organization which held the enormous influence growing out of the employment of twelve thousand workmen, and the disbursement of a revenue of $30,000,000 a year; as also the machinery which dominated the judiciary, and indirectly influenced the officers of election. Here was a combination of forces which might well have appalled the stoutest heart. But Kelly did not shrink from the unequal contest.

Among the obstreperous "ring" men was one Harry Genet, the leader of a contingent which included a good sprinkling of known gamblers and prize fighters. By this unsavory element, Samuel B. Garvey was named for the office of District Attorney, amid the vociferous applause of his rowdy followers. Kelly immediately took the floor to oppose him, but was interrupted by Genet. Turning upon the latter, Mr. Kelly, in the plainest and most scathing language, arraigned both him and his nominee with the most searching severity; and, though frequently interrupted by howls and hisses, from the disorderly element present, he kept the mob well under restraint, until catching the eye of the Chairman, Augustus Schell, he moved an adjournment until three o'clock the next day. Mr. Schell, understanding that Kelly had some special motive for his motion, put the question at once, and it was carried, in spite of the protest of the Genet men.

Punctually the next day the same emissaries of the "ring" appeared before

Tammany Hall in great force, but now, Kelly knowing what to expect, was prepared for this kind of gentry. He had a strong force stationed at the doors, and no man not a delegate to the convention, and not provided with a delegate's ticket, was allowed to enter the building. The police and the city authorities were then on the side of the desperadoes, but not a policeman was admitted within. This bold action of Mr. Kelly's had the desired effect. By his personal intrepidity, his knowledge of the material he had to overcome, and his ample preparation to resist attack, he had won the battle, and held the field. None but delegates got into the convention; Garvey was defeated, and Charles Donahue was nominated for District Attorney, and Abram Lawrence for Mayor. It was in that day's fight for supremacy that the spirit of the ring-heelers was quenched beyond recuperation.

So far we have found Mr. Kelly acting for the good of the Democratic party, and maintaining the respect of his friends and also of his political enemies. In 1884, apparently from personal feeling of antipathy—he was charged with having hindered, rather than helped, the nominee of the Democartic party, Grover Cleveland. He was always too much inclined to allow his personal feelings to dominate his political actions, a bad fault in a great leader. To be permanently successful, a leader of men must always keep his emotional nature in subjection, and personal antipathies should have no influence in directing his course. Just here is where John Kelly erred.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN 1876-79.



PRESIDENTIAL year is, of course, always a busy time for those active in political affairs; and Tammany representatives were no exceptions to the rule. At this period the Irving Hall party was in full bloom, and, during the whole season of political activity, both formal and informal attempts were made to effect, if not an entire reconciliation, at least some kind of accommodation between the old organization and this new claimant for Democratic recognition. It was certainly desirable that they should not nullify each other's work, to the general detriment of the party they both professed to represent in the City of New York.

As early as February 14th the Tammany General Committee met at the hall, with Augustus Schell in the chair. The principal object of this meeting was, indeed, to protest against the dilatory measures of the Administration, in failing to restore the Southern States to their constitutional place in the Union. But, as this matter was so fully taken up and discussed, at their annual meeting in July, we refer our readers to the account of that meeting for the full expression of Tammany's opinion on that subject. One of the points, however, discussed at this meeting challenges special notice. It was concerning a clause in one of the resolutions offered, in which a general amnesty for all who had been engaged on the Confederate side was advocated—with the sole exception of Jefferson Davis. Mr. Abram S. Hewitt opposed the exception, on the sole ground that it would, in effect, honor the arch-rebel by distinguishing him above all others. It would, he argued, draw attention to him as if he was of more consequence than all the rest combined, which was not true in fact. Mr. Hewitt said, substantially, "let him remain, undistinguished among the crowd." The matter of securing a union of the Democratic factions was discussed, but no precise plan was adopted at this time. Matters looked complicated.

In addition to the Irving Hall anti-Tammany Democrats, there was also an anti-Tammany Young Men's Club, which sometimes met in Union Square. On October 12th, there was a prolonged conference between all the opposing forces and Tammany. The anti-Tammanyites were led at this time by O'Brien, with John Morrissey as second. Committees and sub-committees went back and forth between the old Wigwam and the bolters, and, finally, two reports were brought in. From the Young Men's meeting O'Brien reported that no arrangement was possible, as Tammany's terms could not be accepted; but Morrissey, who was also on the conference committee, wanted to get back into the fold, "at any cost." At Irving Hall Mr. Ira Shafer reported "that Tammany wanted all the good offices," but here, also, Morrissey recommended that Tammany's terms be accepted. However, no terms were arrived at, and up to the middle of November the Democracy were still disunited.

It came out that the Irving Hall party asked, as its share, the selection of one-third of the Assemblymen, one-third of the Aldermen and two Congress-



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men. This was flatly refused by the Tammany Committee of Conference, the latter finally deciding to refer all the nominations to the District Conventions, which were, in fact, elected to nominate for the offices involved in this discussion. Subsequently the Irving party attempted to make a deal with the Republicans, but this failed. At a meeting which was held in Irving Hall on October 30th Mr. Shafer reported "that it was unadvisable to make terms with the Republicans," Mr. O'Brien adding that "the Republicans had acted very treacherously," but he still proposed to scorn the favors of Tammany. Only a partial ticket was made up, and that, as one present expressed it, was flexible enough to stretch into Tammany Hall, or into the Controller's office at Albany (Lucius Robinson was at this time State Controller).

In the meantime Tammany had independently nominated Smith Ely, Jr., for Mayor, Delano C. Calvin for Surrogate, Bernard Reilly for Sheriff, and Henry A. Gumbleton, for County Clerk. Mr. Gumbleton was, perhaps, better acquainted with the duties of his office than any other man who could at that time have been named. He had served in the office for six years as clerk, and had then been promoted to the position of Deputy County Clerk, so that his nomination was simply in the line of what would now be called "Civil Service Reform." When it came in order to nominate a Coroner, the name of Richard Croker was among those presented, John Kelly making a strong speech in his behalf.

The early efforts, in 1875, to procure unanimity between the New York factions had not been very successful, but these efforts were more formally renewed when it became necessary to consider the selection of delegates to the convention to be held in Saratoga in August. With this important matter in view, a meeting was held in Tammany Hall to renew consultations on the matter, John Kelly presiding. Harmony in the Democratic ranks being especially desirable, in view of the approaching Presidential (Tilden's) election. Irving Hall, at this time, claimed to control thirty-seven thousand votes. After much parleying, without coming to terms, it was simply agreed to turn the nominations over to the Assembly Districts, the certificates of which should be received as regular.

At the summer convention the names of several candidates for Governor were freely canvassed, including those of Clarkson N. Potter, Senator Schoonmaker, Horatio Seymour and others. To the rank and file of the Democracy Mr. Lucius Robinson was considered in the light of a semi-Republican, and to the surviving old Hunker veterans he was a rock of offence and thoroughly distrusted. Even so acute an observer as Thurlow Weed could not overcome his prejudices sufficiently to admit that Lucius Robinson was actuated by principle, rather than profit in his several changes of front—politically speaking. The convention finally met on the 13th of September, Judge Grey in the chair.

Among the prominent persons present and well forward in the middle aisle was, of course, John Kelly, and just back of him could be seen the silent manager of Kings County politics, Hugh McLaughlin; and, near by, Rufus Peckham and Judge Hibbard, of Buffalo. One person who attracted considerable attention was a Mr. Wilkinson, who was also delegated to the Unitarian Convention, which was sitting at the same time in Saratoga. Of him some wicked wit declared, "Wilkinson is a Democrat to-day; he will take a bath, and be a Unitarian to-morrow."

On the roll-call John Kelly's name was the first to bring out any applause. However, he declined to be put upon the electoral ticket, and ex-Governor Seymour was substituted. One delegate made himself especially but not altogether agreeably, prominent, by exploiting himself, in a very extravagant eulogy, on Mr. Kelly, pledging him his everlasting allegiance, and, by his uncalled for eloquence, helping to break the unusually serious spirit prevailing in this convention. Hope was not exactly the predominant feeling on this occasion. There was not a very strong feeling of confidence in the leaders, who had decided to bring forward Mr. Robinson's name. In fact, Governor Seymour had been privately approached to ascertain if he would accept the nomination, but he had positively declined, and to each of the other names suggested there appeared to be a lack of enthusiasm in their professed friends.

To the surprise of many of the delegates, when the call was made, all of the first Counties proved to be for Robinson, as was also the important County of Kings. The Tammany delegates voted for Clarkson N. Potter, with the exception of Peter B. Olney, Edward Cooper and Thomas Mesmer, who voted for Robinson. This break from the unit rule was greeted with hearty cheers. Mr. Joseph J. O'Donohue shouted out that he voted for a Democrat (Potter), thus striving to emphasise his objection to Robinson. He was answered by Emanuel B. Hart with the words, "A Democrat? Then vote for Schoonmaker." But there was little in this convention of the spirit of fun and gaiety which sometimes prevail in political gatherings. The heavy shadow of sixteen years of Republican rule, with the possibility of at last breaking it, by the election of Tilden, caused an air of seriousness, somewhat unusual to predominate.

It was soon found out that nearly all the county delegations favored Robinson; the scattering votes were given up, and Robinson's majority, as first announced, was one hundred and ninety-two and a half, one hundred and ninety-one only being necessary to a choice. The final result was practically unanimity, giving him two hundred forty-three and a half. Nevertheless, the Republicans fully expected to defeat Mr. Robinson at the polls, on several grounds. For one reason, the powerful canal interest was against him, on account of his favoring high tolls; then he had run twice for State offices, and several times for the Legislature, on the Republican ticket; hence they thought the Democratic Bourbons would bolt the nomination. The then editor of the *Tribune*, Mr. Greely, usually well informed as to political outlooks, on receiving the news of the result of the Democratic convention, thus wrote, September 13, 1876: "There is not a word to be said against Mr. Lucius Robinson. He is recognized as a man of unquestioned ability, of absolute integrity, and of valuable public services, . . . but the ticket has no chance of being elected; the present probability is that Morgan will go in with an easy majority of from 10,000 to 15,000." When the returns came in, after the November election, the editor of the *Tribune* had the chagrin of recording a vote of 519,831 for Mr. Robinson to that of 489,371 for his able opponent, Edwin D. Morgan.

Lucius Robinson was of New England stock, and a direct descendant of that historical Rev. John Robinson who accompanied the first band of Pilgrims, fleeing from Holland, to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, some of whose descendents settled in Green County, New York, and Lucius was one of that numerous class

of American boys who come out from the cornfields and the barnyards struggling for knowledge and a wider experience, attaining a collegiate education by their own exertions, and then using that education for the benefit of their country. Mr. Robinson was fortunate in his introduction to the legal profession, by being taken into the office of Judge Amasa Parker, then a resident of Delhi, N. Y., Lucius paying for his instruction by fulfilling the duties of clerk and general helper. In 1837 Mr. Robinson was chosen District Attorney for Green County, three years later coming to New York to practice. In 1843 he was appointed, by Governor Bouck, Commissioner of Chancery, to which position he was reappointed by Governor Silas Wright. The office itself was abolished by the Constitutional Amendments in 1846.

Mr. Robinson eventually made his home in Chemung County, on account of his health. Up to this time he had always acted with the Democratic party, but he was strongly opposed to the Missouri Compromise, and was elected to the Assembly on that issue, where he made something more than a "State-wide" reputation. He was still a member of the Legislature on the outbreak of the war, and was the author of the much-discussed "Peace Resolutions," which were introduced into the Assembly before the inauguration of President Lincoln, and which had the approval of Thurlow Weed, but which were sternly criticised by the ultra party leaders. In 1861 Mr. Robinson was a member of the Union convention, which met at Syracuse, composed of both Democrats and Republicans—more anxious to preserve the Union than their party lines.

At the close of the war Mr. Robinson felt that the work of the Republican party was done, and his original affiliation with the Democracy brought him back into their ranks. In 1871 Governor Hoffman had appointed him a member of the State Constitutional Commission. In that convention he advocated the same principles on which he had acted when Controller. He had been the Democratic nominee for Congress in 1870, but, though defeated, he greatly reduced the former Republican majority. In 1872 he supported the Liberals. In 1875 he was again nominated by the Democrats for State Controller, which he won by a handsome plurality. Few men could have made the political changes which Mr. Robinson did and, at the same time, retain to so large an extent the respect of men of all parties.

Tammany has always been noted for the care with which it looked after special classes of voters, not permitting any large body of citizens to pine uselessly for its paternal sympathy. Thus when the upper wards known as the Annexed Districts were added to the metropolis, as the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards, they were at first entrusted to the oversight of Colonel E. T. Wood, but the party did not prosper greatly, and some dissatisfaction was felt. Early in the "eighties" the vote in Wood's district began to grow steadily less, while that of the County Democracy was increasing. It is a peculiarity of this district, or was at that time, that a great deal of jealousy was latent, and often came unpleasantly to the surface, among the people living in the different villages composing it. Morrisana and Mott Haven were antagonistic to Fordham and Tremont, while all of these agreed that Kingsbridge "was of no account." Dividing this old district into wards did something towards removing these local jealousies, and a change in the leadership helped to largely increase the Tammany influence.

Another district was for some time a peculiarly baffling one for the Tammany leaders to deal with. This was the German district—centering about East Fifth street. The reasons which in times past inclined it against the Democratic party are not far to seek. It partly grew out of the Civil War; some of it arose out of the general opposition to the rule of the Tammany magnates of 1871-72; and still more from race antagonism to the Irish-Americans, many of whom had become prominent in the city Democracy. Similar reasons having affected the German race all over the country. But Tammany found a way to change all this by a special effort. Seeking out the most intelligent Germans of this district and encouraging their aspirations for political influence, selecting the best of this class for nominations to office, in preference to other races. Germans of prominence in business were sought out, and advised with, the reforms effected under Tilden's lead were made the most of, while the Democratic feeling, always latent, in such a population was skillfully developed, which, with the natural trend of that race towards free trade and the national policy as represented in the later platforms of the Democratic party did the rest. It now appears unlikely that any opponents of Democratic principles will possess that field hereafter.

In regard to the Hebrew race, which has met with scant justice at the hands of most politicians, either in this country or any other, Tammany has shown the utmost liberality. The position assumed by the General Committee is, and has been for many years, that the members of the various races living in this country are all an integral part of the American nation, and hence that they should all have representation. Of the Hebrew race there are many thousands in the City of New York. Complaints have sometimes been made that these have been unduly favored by Tammany, but, considering their number, Tammany has accorded fair representation to them for several years.

The year 1879 proved disastrous to Democracy, both in the State and city. Immediately after the election of Governor Robinson, the Tilden and Robinson interests began a warfare on Tammany Hall, for the purpose of controlling that organization. It was then surmised to be in the interest of Andrew H. Green, and to make him leader. This aroused antagonism on the part of Mr. Kelly, its recognized representative. When the State Convention was held in Syarcuse it was determined by the Tilden-Robinson faction to renominate Robinson, notwithstanding the protests of several of the outside State delegates, as well as those of New York City, and, ignoring the advice of Tammany Hall, which was aided by the influence of such men as Chief Justice Sanford A. Church, David Dudley Field, afterwards Chief Justice Ruger, and others of similar character and standing. The consequence was that the dissatisfied delegates bolted before Robinson was nominated, held a delegation in Shakespeare Hall, and nominated John Kelly for Governor. He polled some seventy thousand votes; but the practical effect of this diversion was not his own election, but that of the Republican nominee, Alonzo B. Cornell, who was, in fact, not popular even with his own party, running twenty thousand votes behind his ticket. In the city, also this action of Tammany Hall was fatal to the success of the local Tammany ticket. The nominee of the County Democracy for Sheriff defeating the nominee of Tammany.

The members of the Legislature elected were divided between the two divisions of the Democracy and the Republicans, the latter, naturally, under the circumstances of divided opponents, getting the larger share. It was at this time that Mr. William W. Astor reached the State Senate.

CHAPTER XL.

HANCOCK'S NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

THE tendency to accept military valor as a qualification for civic honors appears to be an inherent trait of average human nature. In ancient times the successful generals were frequently rewarded with civil offices. The natural hero-worship of western Europe, including the English race, have always reserved their loudest plaudits for the winners of great battles. The American people have, to a marked degree, followed in the footsteps of their more or less illustrious predecessors. Since our first President, we have had four candidates for that high office from the army elected, with a fifth and sixth nominated. Of the successful military candidates Washington was, no doubt, eminently fitted, at that time, for the position. General Jackson was a lawyer, as well as a good fighter, and understood constitutional law. General Harrison had no special fitness for the office, and was elected solely on his war record. It was of General Taylor, elected President, and inaugurated in 1849, that the great constitutional lawyer, Daniel Webster, made the public comment, that "it was a nomination not fit to be made," though Taylor was of his own party; and he was right, there was no element of the statesman in Zachery Taylor. General Scott, nominated, but not elected, by the Whig party, saved his political reputation by that defeat. General Grant's administration is now generally admitted to have been the most corrupt which the country has ever seen. Thus the experience of the United States shows a balance against the theory that military men are necessarily fit for high civic office.

Yet, the Democratic party made no mistake in 1880, when they selected for their candidate General Winfield Scott Hancock, who had served with credit in nearly all the battles in which his military namesake, General Scott, won fame in Mexico; and he had also earned other laurels in frontier duty, and still more glory in the civil war. It was not, however, for any of his brilliant military achievements that he was selected as the standard-bearer of the Democracy. As military Governor of the semi-reconstructed States of Louisiana and Texas, known officially as the Fifth Military District, he had exhibited marked civic ability of a high order. General Hancock had been assigned to this command by President Andrew Johnson late in the summer of 1867. The Southern States were, at that time, under what has come to be universally known as "carpet-bag rule," a phrase aptly indicating that the rulers had no permanent interest in the people over whom they were set to govern. All the offices of any importance, from the Governors down, were filled, not by election through the people, but by persons appointed either by the President or by Congress, for strictly partisan purposes, the subordinate positions being filled by their creatures, the whole Southern country being divided into military districts having a United States Army General in command, supported by Federal troops. These Generals had almost unlimited power over the whole population, including civil officers, and

even the law courts—which, indeed, could scarcely be said to exist, so completely were they dominated by military interference, most of the commanding generals having used the extraordinary powers confered upon them to the fullest extent.

Not so did General Hancock. With the true instinct of a patriot, who recognized that the war was over, and with the discrimination of a mature and unselfish statesman, he decided not to use the arbitrary power at his command, and plainly expressed in his commission, but to treat the citizens as he would have done those of any other State, so long as they remained quiet and peaceable, as he found them. Accustomed to the sharp rule of General Sheridan, from whom they had just been relieved, the people of the Fifth District could not, at first, understand that the new Commander was a man of very different metal, and that he regarded the inhabitants of Louisiana and Texas not as conquered rebels, but as restored citizens, and that it was his intention to reinstate, so far as possible, all the civil functions of these States.

It took some time for these Southern communities to understand, or put faith in this professed friendly attitude of a Federal General, and it was really not until the publication of his famous "Order No. 40," dated November 29, 1867, that the people began to realize that they had over them a friend and protector of their civil rights, and not a military tyrant. This renowned "Order" clearly announced that the people were expected to resume all the civil functions of an independent State; to reopen their courts, and resume all the duties and rights of American citizens, which their semi-territorial condition permitted, and that he, as military commander, was only there to preserve peace and to secure to all the inhabitants the equal administration of justice, to support the laws of the State, not to supercede them. In fine, he put the civil above the military power. Under the circumstances, this was a braver and more noble act than any recorded of a mere fighter on the battlefield.

But this moral courage and self-abnegation was not in the least appreciated by Congress; that partisan body was in no hurry to rehabilitate the defeated people of the South, and felt aggrieved at the fact that one whom they had placed as a military satrap over two States, with the express design of prolonging the unnecessary probation of the conquered sections, should develop into an expounder and defender of the constitutional rights of the States, and the promulgator of true Democratic principles. It was, indeed, a novel sight to the whole nation to see a man in that era voluntarily put away the power of an autocrat, which had been officially bestowed upon him, and proclaim himself a subject, like all other citizens, of the civil power.

General Hancock also declined to send Federal soldiers to watch the polls, unless in case of disorder. All this recognition of the people's rights interfered with the Congressional purpose of securing Republican majorities in the States of Louisiana and of Texas. In consequence, General Hancock found himself so constantly antagonized by the Federal authorities that he asked to be relieved from his command on the 27th of February, 1868. It was his wholesome and patriotic course, in endeavoring to re-establish the civil over military rule, which commended him to the consideration of the Democratic party as a candidate for the Presidency.

At the National Convention which met in St. Louis, January 27, 1876, Hancock's name was brought forward by a delegate from the General's native State.

Pennsylvania. He obtained seventy-five votes, but Tilden secured the nomination. In 1868, when the National Democratic Convention met in Tammany Hall, General Hancock's name was then introduced with a very sound and eulogistic speech by a delegate from Maine; but at this time Tammany had decided on Horatio Seymour, and he was nominated. Another opportunity proved more favorable. At the Democratic Convention which met in Cincinnati June 23, 1880, General Hancock's name was once more presented, this time by a veteran Democrat of Philadelphia—Daniel Dougherty, who had, in 1856, advocated the nomination of James Buchanan, and had afterwards voted for Lincoln and Grant, but who had returned to his original principles, and once more, after twenty years of errancy, made a splendid oration in a Democratic convention. General Hancock received the nomination, which was one eminently "fit to be made," but was defeated at the ensuing election by General Garfield, but by a very small majority, only 7,018 out of a popular vote of about 9,000,000, all the patronage and machinery of the government being in the hands of his opponents. In General Hancock's letter of acceptance he made use of essentially the same phrase since adopted by Mr. Cleveland—and which, in fact, is established Democratic doctrine—General Hancock said, "Public office is a trust; not a bounty bestowed on the holder."

CHAPTER XLI.

THE COUNTY DEMOCRACY.



MONG the many anti-Tammany organizations which have sprung up, flourished a while, and then dissolved, or formed other combinations, while the elder society went on its wonted way, usually to success—less frequently to defeat—the association calling itself the County Democracy was for some years a very formidable rival. It first came into open antagonism, under that name, in 1881. The conditions then presented a triangular fight, as the Irving Hall party was still an active force. So that Tammany had two organized Democratic opponents to meet. Even before 1881 there were frequently two sets of delegates sent to the Democratic State conventions—always one by Tammany, and the others, sometimes simply anti-Tammany, without other formal designation, sometimes with a more specific name. Now there were two claimants to recognition. The principal movers in this hostile faction of 1881 were those who convened on election night before the returns were made, when no one except themselves could know what treachery had taken place, to try and make it understood and believed that the Tammany men had treacherously betrayed the late Presidential nominee, General Hancock, by trading the national for the city ticket, thus causing the loss to the Democratic party of national administration for the ensuing four years.

Among those prominent in this revolt from machine methods were Abram S. Hewitt, Thomas Costigan, James O'Brien and Timothy Campbell.

It was only a few weeks after the Presidential election that certain members of Irving Hall came to the conclusion that their organization was being run in too much of a machine fashion, although opposed to Tammany on that very issue, and these dissatisfied "Irvingites," as they were often called, formed a combination with a number of Independent Democrats and decided to build up a reformed and purified Democracy, based on pure Jeffersonian principles. They went energetically to work and appointed committees to make an enrollment of Democrats of all existing parties or factions, so as to secure a representative organization in every election district. An Assembly District Association was also formed, as well as a County Committee elected. By these elaborate measures it was thought that a truly representative Democratic organization could be sustained. It was these transcendental philosophers who formed the basis of the County Democracy, which was fairly launched into the political arena in the spring of 1881. Primary elections were held in each election district, and the Democrats whose names had been enrolled chose officers, as also delegates, to the County Committee. One reason for selecting the name "County" was that throughout the State county committees had previously been in existence, while the Democrats of the County of New York had always

been controlled in their course, either by the Society of Tammany or some offshoot from that association; and it seemed to the reformers that it was altogether fitting to have an organization in New York County corresponding to the custom in general usage throughout the State.

Among the actual organizers of the new party were Abram S. Hewitt, ex-Mayor Edward Cooper, William C. Whitney, E. Ellery Anderson, Hans S. Beattie, Maurice F. Powers, Hubert O. Thompson, Nelson J. Waterbury, Frank M. Scott, Charles W. Dayton, Henry S. Beekman, Allen Campbell, Francis Lynde Stetson, Thomas Costigan, Henry Murray, J. Henry Ford and James McCartney. The committee met at 21 West Twenty-fourth street, where the organization preliminaries were projected; the public meetings and County Committee meetings were held in Cooper Union.

At this time ex-Sheriff Peter Bowe, ex-Sheriff Alexander Davidson, W. Bourke Cockran, Nicholas Haughton, Robert B. Mooney, Edgar L. Ridgeway, Judge Erlich, Charles G. Cornell, Hugh H. Moore, and some others, kept up the old Irving Hall organization, which, in 1886, united with the "Henry George" labor movement, but most, if not all, of its former leaders, naturally, in time, drifted back to their old home—Tammany Hall, some joining the County Democracy, and some Irving Hall, as a distinctly anti-Tammany force, disappeared from city politics, though, in 1879, its delegates had been received as "regular" at the State convention held in Syracuse.

For several years the County Democracy proved a very successful organization, and at one period obtained control of nearly all the departments and city patronage. Hubert O. Thompson was its recognized leader. (It seems they could not get along without a "boss.") It was through the efforts of this association, undoubtedly, that Grace was elected Mayor in 1884, though he had the support of other Democrats at that time, a sort of three-cornered fight being on that year, to the great detriment of the National ticket, which just scraped through by a very small majority. Beginning with the purest intentions, the County Democracy soon fell into the enticing rut of machine politics; and the wiley politician inevitably succeeded to the patriotic organizers. Many of its members were Aldermen in 1884, and some of these were indicted for the acceptance of bribes. Later, this once immaculate party formed combinations with Republicans of easy political virtue. The result was a disintegration of its original elements. Most of its leaders returned to Tammany Hall, some went into the party calling itself the "Voorhis Democracy," but the great body, like so many others of the anti-Tammany factions, informally dissolved into its original elements. Those who clung to it longest and latest were found, in 1892, still in the role of protesters, among the anti-Hill Democrats. The latest notice that we find of any remnant of vitality in this association was that of a meeting held in a small room on the second floor of the Cooper Union, on the 23d of May, 1892, when Mr. Charles A. Jackson, who had vowed, the year before, that he "would remain a true County Democrat, even if he were left alone to turn out the gas," actually did so, in the company of some dozen equally devoted followers.

One of the daily papers, published about the time of the "Mid-Winter Convention," thus describes the mode sometimes adopted for silencing opposition: "The Voorhis faction was finally disposed of in this manner: On the 29th of

February, 1892, Mayor Grant appointed John R. Voorhis, founder, and for years the leader, of the so-called New York Democracy, as Police Justice, to succeed Mr. Ford, a County Democrat; then, to make all things satisfactory, Aqueduct Secretary John C. Sheehan (brother of the Lieutenant-Governor), was appointed Police Commissioner to succeed Voorhis, at the nominal sum of $5,000 per annum. This kept the Voorhis faction solid for Tammany, and shows why Voorhis did not join either the Steckler party, or other factionists. . . . . Mr. Voorhis received appointments respectively from Mayors Havemeyer, Cooper and Grace. Mr. Voorhis was always a Democrat. He early joined the County Democracy, but bolted it in 1890, to set up his own wing, called somewhat ostentatiously, the New York Democracy. In the election of 1891 he claimed to have carried 20,000 votes."

One of the spicy episodes illustrative of the contests, and also semi-affiliations between Tammany and the County Democracy, took place in the autumn of 1886, and related to the nomination of Abram S. Hewitt for Mayor. Tammany had previously rejected the nomination of Mr. Hewitt as an unsuitable candidate, for Governor, when he was nominated for that office by the County Democracy, and was consequently severely criticised by political opponents for its apparently inconsistent action in 1886. In the State convention held the previous year, when Mr. Hewitt was nominated for Governor, he had received but 33 votes out of 384, and the attitude of Tammany was held responsible for this signal failure. Greatly chagrined at the result, the County Democracy held a meeting, at which the following resolution was passed, Mr. Hewitt being at that time a member of that wing of the Democracy:

"*Resolved*, That it is for the interest of the party, in the City and State, that the constant deals and disgraceful trades between the rival county conventions and their favorite candidates should cease. The issue between Tammany Hall and the New York County Democracy is perfectly clear and well defined. In the former the leaders, or bosses, control their organization for personal and selfish objects. The issue we make with Tammany Hall must be met, and decided. The cause of good government, the cause of honest administration of municipal affairs and the cause of the peace of the party itself, demand it."

To this assault, at a meeting held soon after, Tammany made the following scathing reply:

"The declaration that disgraceful trades and deals between the rival County Conventions 'must cease' is at least an admission that these immaculate statesmen have invited and participated in such deals during the past; and the assertion that they were 'disgraceful' is a cheerful confession of infamy by men who ask public confidence on account of the purity of their methods. The sentiments of opposition to 'disgraceful deals and bargains,' which the members of the County Democracy profess, are as fervent as new-born convictions usually are. Their abortive attempt to induce this organization to unite with them in support of a preposterous candidate for Governor, at the last State Convention, might be considered an attempt to make a particularly disgraceful bargain or deal. . . . The peaceful overtures of this convention have been rejected in the name of good government, and sound politics, by a tumultuous disorderly mob of employees from the city departments, acting under the dictation of a band of political mercenaries, whose shameful abuse of public trusts has escaped the corrective process of the criminal courts, through the imbecility or connivance of the District Atttorney."

A principal cause of Tammany's rejection of Hewitt, when nominated for Governor, was a speech he made soon after connecting himself with the County Democracy, and which was delivered at Cooper Union. He said: " As to Tammany Hall and John Kelly, here is to be found the proximate cause of our defeat

in 1880. Here in the City of New York we had an organization which expressed only the will of one man. To him, counsel and interference were alike obnoxious. Those who ventured to disagree with him were disciplined and retired, not only from office, but were driven from the ranks. Such an organization was offensive to the self-respect of intelligent Democrats. . . . Tammany is a machine. Its source of power is a secret society. Even in the wisest and best hands it is an anomaly which should not be perpetuated or tolerated."

Nevertheless, Mr. Hewitt, one year later, accepted the nomination of Tammany Hall for the office of Mayor, and was elected.

The explanation of this change of front all round was simply the fear, not of Tammany Hall only, but of all the other parties in the conservative ranks, of the increasing strength of the "Henry George" party. Nor was this a vain fear; at the November election of 1886 this Socialistic combination cast 67,699 votes. Mr. Hewitt had over 90,000 from the *united* Democracy—and not a "disgraceful deal" on either side.

One of the unexpected events which happened in the campaign of 1877 was the success of John Morrissey over the Hon. Augustus Schell, the Tammany nominee, not only in the East River election districts, but in the most fashionable and wealthy sections of the city, including the Eleventh Assembly District, as also the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth. How this came about has never been fully explained. Why the aristocracy of intelligence and of wealth, in a struggle for the United State's Senatorship, should desert one of their own set, and vote, for a good man, indeed, but one who certainly made no pretension to compete with them on any educational or social point, has always remained somewhat of a mystery; for this was not a case in which it was possible to charge the improper use of money, seeing that so large a number of voters were not only above suspicion morally considered, but the fact was patent, that they had the means to buy the candidate, rather than he them. Perhaps it was Morrissey's indomitable pluck which pleased them. At a preliminary meeting, where the selection of candidates was being discussed, and where some were opposed to Morrissey's nomination on the very ground that he could not carry the fashionable districts, he arose, and, in his most serious manner, declared that he "could and would carry them." Addressing his opponents, he exclaimed: "This is not my fight; it is yours. If I am beaten, you are beaten; but I will not be defeated, I will not only carry what you call my districts, but I will carry the silk-stocking districts, too"; and he did, much to the surprise of both friends and foes.

This year, 1877, was prolific in other interesting incidents, one of which was the entrance of a member of the wealthy Astor family into politics. Hitherto this well-known branch of the money aristocracy had occupied themselves almost exclusively in adding to their great inherited fortune, or in social functions; but this year one of the younger scions, Mr. William Waldorf Astor, accepted the Republican nomination for the Assembly in his own district, the Eleventh. He was the first of the very wealthy men of New York to risk their fate at the polls; but he courageously set an example which has been successfully followed by others. His district was naturally a Republican one, and on this occasion he was elected without difficulty. After serving his term in the Assembly, he was, in 1879, elected to the State Senate, and a prolonged political career appeared to be opening before him; but it was not destined to continue. In October of 1880 he



ROSWELL P. FLOWER.

was nominated for Congress in the Seventh District of New York city. Tammany had for its candidate one of its old time members, Mr. Phillip Henry Dugro, who defeated Mr. Astor, though not by so large a majority as to discourage the latter.

In the Fall of 1881 Mr. Astor again accepted the Republican nomination for Congress, this time for the Ninth District. His opponent was now Roswell P. Flower, also a wealthy man, though not having quite so many millions to draw upon as William Waldorf Astor. It was reported, though by no means substantiated, that money flowed freely on this occasion, being estimated, on Mr. Flower's side, at $16,000, and, on Mr. Astor's, at from $25,000 to $30,000. But little reliance is to be placed on such estimates—at least, no newly-fledged semi-millionaires were observed cropping up in that district after the election. The peculiarity of this canvass was the fact that both of these wealthy candidates went personally into the work of enlisting voters, making friendly overtures to classes of workmen and small dealers whom, under other circumstances, they would not have felt called upon to salute so courteously. Mr. Flower carried the day with a majority that effectually extinguished Mr. Astor's desire for further experience in the line of American politics. He was, in a measure, consoled for his defeat before the people by the appointment of Minister to Italy, where he pleasantly and usefully occupied himself in historical researches. He has since domiciled himself in England, became a British subject, and owns the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

CHAPTER XLII.

CLEVELAND IN 1884.



REAT as was the disappointment of the Democracy at the defeat of General Hancock in 1880, it was not deemed expedient to renominate him in 1884. At the National convention, which met in Chicago that year, Governor Grover Cleveland of New York was nominated on the second ballot, receiving 683 votes, 36 more than was necessary to a choice. He was not exactly the candidate which Tammany would have preferred, Thomas A. Hendricks being their first choice; but there was no possibility of forcing any other name on the convention, and, with their usual tact, the Tammany delegation accepted the nominee with good grace; and, as the Fall campaign opened, the old Wigwam threw wide its doors for a grand ratification meeting, including the organization of a parade.

There could be no doubt of the genuine enthusiasm of the rank and file, the thousands of men who marched on that occasion with banners inscribed, "Cleveland and Hendricks," though some of the ward leaders appeared to be less enthusiastic. On the evening of the 21st of October, the great public ratification meeting was held in Tammany Hall. The gallery was filled with the men who had done and would still do the marching, and also the voting, and who felt that, by the numerical display in the streets, they were doing something to help on the Democratic restoration to power in the nation, of which they were defrauded in 1876 by the Electoral Commission.

Among the speakers at the great public meeting that had been called were Senator Thomas F. Bayard, of Maryland; Governor Abbett, of New Jersey, and Allen Thurman, of Ohio, with many other distinguished minor statesmen devoted to Grover Cleveland. The general theme of the orators was the excessive extravagance of the Republican administration. A little later, the County Democracy followed Tammany Hall, and, under the lead of Hubert O. Thompson, all pledged themselves to support the National nominee.

The canvass was an exceedingly exciting one, but the result, though it restored into the hands of the Democrats the National administration after a political exile of twenty-four years, was still somewhat disappointing, on account of the small majority which carried Grover Cleveland into the White House, though, in the Electoral College, he received 219 votes, as against Mr. Blaine's 182.

As was quite natural, the Democrats had not forgotten how Mr. Tilden had been deprived of the office to which he was elected, and the most careful measures had been taken throughout the State and City of New York to secure an honest count of the votes cast. To ensure this a conference was held by leading Democrats at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where a committee of lawyers was appointed to go to the Bureau of Elections and inspect the returns, as they had a legal right to do. At this time Mr. John J. O'Brien was Chief Supervisor of the Bureau of

Elections, and the reported "boss" of the Republican machine in the City of New York. The gentlemen composing the committee of inspection were: Messrs. Aaron J. Vanderpoel, Albert Stickney, General Francis C. Barlow, Francis L. Stetson and Charles P. Miller, who were all well-known and respected citizens. They were instructed to see "that all was fair."

On proceeding to the Bureau they found in the office, not the chief, but a clerk named Walmsley, who undertook to answer for him, and who refused to allow the returns to be examined. General Barlow, who was prepared for this impediment, then read to Mr. Walmsley from the Laws of New York State of 1882 (Section 1,878), which provides that the election returns "shall at all times, during office hours, be open to the inspection, examination, comparison and copying of any citizens, or elector, free of any charge whatsoever." Still, Mr. Walmsley declared that he could not and would not allow the papers to be touched, in the absence of his chief. Thereupon General Barlow read another section of the Laws (Section 1,909), which makes it a felony for any person to wilfully neglect or impede the rights of any person secured by the preceding section which had been read. The penalty attached was from one to five years in State's prison. Still, the courageous clerk did not yield. He appeared shocked at the very idea of citizens "wanting to know," and declared that within his experience no one ever had asked such a thing.

The committee now left the Bureau, and went to the Police Commissioner's office, over which Fitz John Porter then presided. He declared he could do nothing without the presence of his colleagues. General Barlow then threatened to apply to the Supreme Court for a mandamus, to compel Supervisor O'Brien to permit the examination. The situation was becoming dramatic, and to complete it—*enter* John J. O'Brien.

The case being stated to him, he refused to yield to the request until he had consulted counsel. The Commissioners, finally, after a long consultation, consented to permit the papers to be seen, on condition that the examination should take place in the presence of the Chief of the Bureau. But all this effort at obstruction was plainly a misdemeanor on the part of these officials, and General Barlow was not the man to put up with this sort of treatment. He obtained from Judge Barrett an order to show cause why a mandamus should not issue against John J. O'Brien. But, finally, without allowing this to come to trial, the papers were given over for examination; and the report made was that "they had not *yet* been tampered with." And so the matter rested.

CHAPTER XLIII.

CLEVELAND IN 1888.



HE renomination of Mr. Cleveland, in 1888, was a foregone conclusion. Though he had not succeeded in placating many of the influential local politicians in his own State, there was still no other available man at that time, within the pale of the Democracy, who, on the whole, so well represented the party principles. In the previous Cleveland campaign the honest, but always unreliable Mugwumps, had thrown their influence in favor of the Democratic candidate, as a rebuke to their own party for nominating the finessing Blaine. On this occasion many of them, especially the high protectionists among them, became frightened by Mr. Cleveland's very pronounced views on the tariff question, and held aloof at the polls. Yet these sentiments of the nominee had no terrors for the great body of business men in the great commercial City of New York, the very élite of whom marched, in a day parade, with Cleveland banners at their head, forming at the foot of Wall street, and filling up their ranks with bankers, importers, shipping-merchants, members of the Stock Exchange, and, in fact, embodying representatives of all the great material interests of the country. No such political procession was ever seen before in the streets of New York. Every man carried "respectability" on his face, and hundreds of them "wealth," as well.

On the first day of November the New York *Herald* reported, "Tammany Hall ablaze for Cleveland," adding, "in the presence of a National duty, Tammany Hall has no local divided obligation." On the evening of the same day an immense assemblage filled and overflowed the Wigwam in Fourteenth street, where Thomas F. Gilroy, then Secretary, read the resolutions of the Tammany General Committee approving of the Cleveland administration, and ratifying his renomination to the Presidency.

Tammany has never lacked an abundance of fine orators. On this occasion ex-Governor Hoadley, of Ohio, was one of the principal speakers. He was just closing his speech, with the following remarks, when the Mayor-elect Hugh J. Grant entered, thus making his closing words quite *apropos*. He said: "We have not regretted putting a good Democrat in the White House, and the Democrats here present will not regret putting an honest man like Hugh J. Grant in the Mayor's chair of the City of New York." Mr. Grant was wildly cheered by the immense audience. Being called on for a speech, the chief civic nominee briefly responded: "For this your cordial and hearty greeting I am most profoundly grateful. I take it not as altogether personal, but as an evidence of your loyalty to the great party whose candidate I am. Success in New York ensures it for the whole country. Work for the whole ticket, National and State, as well as local. Friendship for me can best be shown by earnest and energetic work for Grover Cleveland for President, and David B. Hill for Governor." These sentiments were received with tremendous applause.

CHAPTER XLIV.

FIRE IN TAMMANY HALL.

THIS year (1888) was in more than one way disastrous to the Society of Tammany. It was while the Democratic National Convention was in session at St. Louis that a fire occurred which at one time threatened the destruction of their fine building in Fourteenth street. This fire did not originate in the hall itself, but in a theatre below, which was occupied, at the time, by the Tony Pastor Company. The fire had started among the scenery, and when discovered, about half past six on the morning of the 6th of June, was located in the northeast corner of the building, with the flames making rapid strides towards the roof. Very soon after the first alarm was sounded fifteen engines were on the spot, and, as Chief Shay was promptly on the ground, he immediately sent out calls for extra help, calling upon every fire company within the radius of a mile from the corner of Fourteenth street and Irving Place. The flames burned through the floor of the large hall and shot up towards the roof of the main building. Some Tammany men, who had, fortunately, not gone to St. Louis, were quickly on the ground, and braved the perils of fire and smoke in rescuing some valuable property belonging to the Society. When the fire was extinguished it was found that neither the walls or roof was seriously injured. The damage to the Society was estimated at $35,000, fully covered by insurance; but this did not compensate for the loss of valuable documents, impossible to replace.

CHAPTER XLV.

UNVEILING OF THE TAMMANY MONUMENT AT GETTYSBURG, SEPTEMBER, 1891.



N the 24th of September, 1891, occurred a most interesting event in the history of the Tammany Society; as, on that day was unveiled, with elaborate ceremonies, the fine granite and bronze monument erected to the memory of the fallen heroes of the Forty-second New York Volunteer Regiment, better known under its popular name of "The Tammany Regiment," or "Jackson Guards," which honorably served throughout the war. The site selected is about two miles southwest of the village of Gettysburg, near the "Bloody Angle," one of the most fatally consecrated portions of the whole ground, hallowed by the blood of brave men, dying that their country might be "free, indeed." The position is a commanding one, on the south slope of Cemetery Ridge, and in full view of many other tall shafts erected on the battle-field by other associations.

Of those who attended this celebration and "Unveiling" there were ninety surviving veterans, who had taken part in that long drawn-out fight on the soil of Pennsylvania. There were also present about three hundred members of the Tammany Society, with several hundred visitors from Gettysburg and vicinity, and other parts of the country. The day was oppressively hot, and nothing less interesting could have kept so many people together for the length of time needed to complete the ceremonies and listen to the speeches. The proceedings were announced to commence at 10 A. M. The veterans of the Forty-second, led by Lieut.-Col. J. J. Mooney, carrying the old and tattered regimental flags, were the first to arrive in town, and they spent nearly an hour looking over the historical ground on which the great struggle, in which they had been personally engaged, had been fought out. Some of them had not visited the spot since they were carried wounded from the field, twenty-eight years before, on the 3d of July, 1863. These ninety veterans were formed in line at the base of the monument, and were photographed in that position. The band on this occasion (belonging to Harrisburg, Pa.), was the same which had formed the line of battle for General Hancock on the last day of the struggle.

At the hour appointed, Captain Eugene Sullivan, President of the Veteran Association of the Forty-second Regiment, called the assemblage to order. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. W. H. McKnight, President of the Pennsylvania College, of Gettysburg. The unveiling of the monument followed. This act was performed by James E. Mallon, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a son of one of the colonels of the regiment (the fate of war had necessitated several) who had led the Forty-second on the field at Gettysburg, and elsewhere, and who was killed in October of the same year, at the Battle of Bristol Station, 1863. Assisting Mr. Mallon was A. J. Zabriskie, the engineer in charge of the erection of the monument. When the large American flag, which had concealed the memorial, was withdrawn, the crowd was struck with admiration, and cheered most enthusiastically.



THE TAMMANY MONUMENT AT GETTYSBURG.

The pedestal, or, rather, broad base, of this fine monument is of granite, standing on which, in front, and thirty-one feet high, is an Indian before an open tent; the apex of this tent is surmounted by an eagle—all in bronze. On the facade of the pedestal is a tablet, on which is recited the engagements in which the regiment participated, and on the reverse is inscribed its record at Gettysburg. The Oration was delivered by General Daniel E. Sickles, and consisted mainly of a history of the regiment and what it had accomplished, with a touching tribute to the memory of those who fell before Pickett's charge. General Sickles also referred to an interview which he had with President Lincoln, who spoke to him in grateful terms of the generosity and patriotism of the City of New York, which had appropriated $1,000,000 to carry on the war.

At the conclusion of the oration, three hearty cheers were given for the speaker, who had left a limb on that battle-field.

The monument was then formally presented to the "Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association," a brief presentation address being made by General Sickles. In response, Edward McPherson, Clerk of the House of Representatives, as a Director of the Battle-field Association, accepted the monument, in an interesting speech of considerable length. Next in order was read, by the popular actor, F. F. Mackay, an original poem, written by Mr. William Geoghegan. Colonel Fellows succeeded him with a short speech, in which he awarded equal praise, as to bravery, to the Union and Confederate armies. General Martin T. McMahon eulogized General Hancock, to whose division the Tammany Regiment had belonged, and referred, also, with much feeling, to Maj.-Gen. John Sedgwick, under whose command the Forty-second Regiment had been during the early part of the war. Addresses followed by General Ely S. Parker, Captain J. M. Ellendorf and Bartow S. Weeks, Commander-in-Chief of the Sons of Veterans.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies the old veterans and the Tammany delegation, having partaken of a banquet, returned to the city, arriving in New York by the early morning train on the 26th.

CHAPTER XLVI.

RICHARD CROKER.



EW York, long famed for her illustrious sons, has never been more justly proud of their great achievements than now. And foremost among her citizens, famous at home and abroad, noted among the world's greatest leaders, is Richard Croker, Chief of Tammany.

Leaders are born, not made, and Mr. Croker fills the counsellor's distinguished place with all the ease and dignity, the wisdom and conscious strength that made St. Tammany of former days so famous with the Indian tribes.

His popularity, like patriot Paul Kruger's, is founded on his manly spirit, fixed resolve, indomitable will and his unswerving honesty of purpose in his protective and aggressive warfare for the people's rights.

As the illustrious Lincoln, "of and for the people," stood for the cause his countrymen entrusted to his care, so Richard Croker, nearer still to those he serves, yet battles for the undying principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" in the great Empire City of the Free.

As years of faithful service in the ranks, and in the posts of honor, have fitted him for greater tasks, so his success has made him strong to undertake and to accomplish them until, to-day, he stands a counsellor without a losing case, a commander with no record of defeat, a general who has lead "THE GREATEST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE WORLD" to battles without number and without a Waterloo.

Political opponents naturally decry the one they cannot conquer, and whose unassailable position has so often brought disaster to the combinations they have formed to both belie and undermine it.

But detraction from the honest fame of Richard Croker comes from those with malice in their hearts who do not know the man.

Those who know him best—convinced of his fidelity and honesty—are loudest in his praise and firmest in their friendship for their fellow citizen.

Honest men—no matter what their politics—are never Mr. Croker's enemies; dishonest ones—disloyal to their own, or other parties—can never be his friends.

For nearly forty years, or since the early sixties, when he was elected to the Board of Aldermen, Mr. Croker has given to the public an intelligent, untiring, faithful service, leading, step by step, to the exalted place he holds in Tammany and in the hearts of that Democracy whose triumphant history is inseparably associated with his own.

A writer of distinction in THE TAMMANY TIMES, of July, 1893, eulogizing Mr. Croker, said he had reached that enviable position when he might be justly called "the Warwick of American politics"—not only, as we judge, for making kings of men, but also for his helpful hand in making men of kings.



RICHARD CROKER.

For this has been his trade—so Democratic and so beneficial to the world—to make of all men equals, brothers, friends and fellow patriots in a free land.

For this great work nature has given him the post of honor, endowing him with gifts in keeping with exalted place. His are the qualities of a superior judgment, a wonderful industry, an earnest purpose, unimpeachable integrity, the skill of leadership, the power to master means, to mould the masses, marshal forces, to carry a great cause to victory.

* * * * *

Mr. Croker's history, from his birth near Clonakilty, County Cork, Ireland, in November, 1843, up to the present time is of surpassing interest to every one who has respect for perseverance, honest work and Democratic faith.

Coming to America when a mere child, and living with his father—a farmer, who served as a Captain in the Sickles Brigade during the Civil War—young Croker received a common school education and, when old enough, was apprenticed to a machinist and learned the trade. For a time he worked in the shops of the New York Central Railroad, then, in the old Volunteer Fire Department, he was engineer of the first steam fire engine used in New York, and was foreman of Engine Company No. 28. Through the Fire Department he made his entry into politics, being elected and re-elected Alderman from 1867 till 1870, when the Tweed ring, to which Mr. Croker was opposed, succeeded in legislating him and his associates out of office.

Under Mayor Havemeyer Mr. Croker was appointed Marshall to secure arrears in taxes, and it is said that in four months he succeeded in collecting $500,000 due the city.

In 1873 he was elected Coroner, a position then, as now, worth about $15,000 a year. To this office he was re-elected in 1876, being then, as for years before, an active member of Tammany Hall and friend and favorite of the famous John Kelly.

After two terms as Coroner, he was again elected Alderman, and Mayor Edson appointed him a Fire Commissioner, to which position he was reappointed by Mayor Hewitt.

In 1889 Mr. Croker was made City Chamberlain by Mayor Grant. This office gave him a salary of $25,000, his bond being half a million. Ill health compelled him to resign his position in 1890 and take a trip to Europe to renew the vigor lost by overwork.

On his return—resuming his accustomed leadership of Tammany—he entered, with the Democratic hosts, on one of the greatest political campaigns this country ever witnessed. In the contest of 1892, Richard Croker, at the head of the Tammany column, did the most loyal and effective work ever accomplished by any political organization in the history of America.

On this occasion the Tammany delegation to the Chicago Convention stood loyally by Senator Hill, but when the nomination went to Mr. Cleveland, Tammany became at once the staunchest advocate of his election, and under Mr. Croker's guidance, Democratic victory was assured, and Cleveland and Stevenson were triumphant at the polls.

That this result was due to Tammany and to the masterful campaign conducted by Chief Croker was everywhere acknowledged. Indeed, it has been

truly said that a more magnificent organization, or one more wisely handled, had never figured in a National election. Mr. Croker's prediction that "the City of New York would give Cleveland and Stevenson 75,000 plurality," was more than verified by the returns, which gave the Democratic candidates an actual plurality of 76,300 votes.

Of Mr. Croker's chivalrous fidelity in this great campaign it may be said to rival knightliest deeds on martial field, and for reward he never asked nor sought further recompense than that he found in guiding those for whom he fought and in the consciousness of duty well performed.

The genius for organization shows in his great battles with political giants, and Mr. Croker, in the *North American Review*, remarks on this as follows: "Organization is one of the great factors of success and without it there can be no enduring result."

With system as a chief reliance, Mr. Croker has been ever active, earnest, fearless, as well as fair and honest with the questions which concern the welfare of the people of New York. With him political obligation is a duty, not to be evaded or neglected, but in friendly intercourse and in encouragement of those who need a friendly word or friendly hand, there is a social side to Mr. Croker's character which has given his magnetic personality its greatest charm.

* * * * *

Coming now to the last memorable campaigns which have restored a Democratic government to Greater New York—replacing the shams of a pretended "reform"—the guiding hand of Mr. Croker is again in evidence to hold in check and bring to a deserved defeat the cohorts of the opposition.

For some years—not from choice, but compelled by the condition of his health, as well as to avoid the importunities of friends and politicians—Mr. Croker has had a residence abroad. One day, when the mock reformers still held power, he returned from England, as Napoleon came from exile, to find the Democratic army calling him to lead to a new victory.

Nothing loath, he took command of Tammany and won the fight against the combined forces of Tracy, Low and George, winning the city's contest by the grand plurality of 85,000 votes and restoring Tammany to power.

Then began the shameful tactics of the up-the-State majority in insulting the great City of New York with a partisan committee to reflect on the integrity of the officers the people's votes had chosen as their representatives.

As the city's Democratic leader, Mr. Croker was the target for the opposition—on his head beat the storm.

But to his honor, be it said, that meddling inquisition found in Richard Croker a fearless honesty they had not bargained for, or, as was truly said: "A foeman worthy of their steel."

Meeting them face to face, defiantly, he challenged them to show an unlawful or unworthy act, or where a single dollar had been taken or been misapplied either by himself or by the Democratic officials of the City of New York.

The end is known to all. The committee was disbanded and discomfitted, while their intended victim, Richard Croker, left for his summer trip to Europe amid the vivas of the multitude that blocked the streets and steamer wharf.

Again returning for the 1900 National campaign, Mr. Croker took the leader's place in Tammany, and at the two Conventions of the nation and State, and in the battle royal following, he fought for the Democratic party with such foresight and energy that the harmonized Democracy of the Empire State reduced the Republican up-State plurality of 1896, over 100,000 votes, wiped out McKinley's New York city majority of 23,000, and added to those figures over 27,000 city plurality for Bryan and nearly 50,000 for the candidate for Governor—a result which, if applied in equal ratio in the other States, would have made Bryan President.

Such, in brief, is the story of an honest politician's great success. Truly the people love him not alone for what he is, but for the work which he has done and "for the enemies that he has made."

Coming contests need not be in doubt while Richard Croker leads.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1892.

THE Presidential campaign of 1892 may be said to have been opened on the part of Tammany Hall, at the State Convention held in Saratoga in September, 1891. At that Democratic gathering the adherents of Tammany, having the late Governor, David B. Hill, at their head, found themselves strong enough to exclude the delegates of the County Democracy, and did exclude them. It has been truly remarked that when particularly acute people make a mistake they are apt to make a very great mistake. Senator Hill has been held to be one of the brainiest men in the State, shrewd and far-seeing, capable of weighing the present and future effects of political movements with the instinct almost of genius, and yet he made the mistake of underestimating the resentment of his fellow-Democrats who were deprived of the usual opportunities of considering and discussing the political situation, by the unusual action of precipitating a call for the selection of delegates to the national convention several months earlier than the custom of the party warranted, thus greatly prejudicing the very object which he and his friends most ardently desired. His usual perception of consequences appeared to be nullified, by the desire to secure, at all hazards, the advantage over his most prominent rival. That the early-expressed dissent from his measure "would die out before summer" was his opinion. A most disasterous conclusion for his hopes to cling to.

That the able leaders of the Tammany Society should have shared in this delusion (if, indeed, they did, and were not influenced by other motives), is most remarkable. Strong at Albany, and popular in the metropolis, neither the aspirant for Presidential honors, nor his friends, seemed to have realized that a grievance nourished by them, against Mr. Cleveland, was not necessarily shared by all the other States in the Union. That the Tammany delegation bravely stood by their colors at Chicago says much for their loyalty, but less for their foresight. The unofficial, but numerically strong protesting party, in common parlance, called the "Anti-snappers," who also went to Chicago to exert all the influence they could command (though they had no votes), against the nominee of the Tammany delegation, wisely decided to avoid creating a scandal, by appearing as contestants, but did more effectual work by personal effort and appeal, to the delegates from other States, many of whom were under the impression that Mr. Cleveland was unpopular in New York. By this sort of "still hunt" and wary tactics they succeeded in dispelling the illusion, and the result was the nomination of Mr. Cleveland on the first ballot, and his election by the convention by a vote of 617 to 115 for the Tammany candidate, David B. Hill; nine other persons being named, who received votes varying in number, from 103 for Governor Boise, of Iowa, to one for other "favorite sons." After this experience it is probable that forestalling a Presidency will become as unpopular as the forestalling of wheat or corn.

The magnificent majority given by the City of New York to the electoral ticket for Cleveland in November, of over 70,000 votes, shows what Tammany can do, when in dead earnest, even though it was not her first choice for whom she voted.

The vote of the City of New York was as follows:

Whole number of votes cast	284,984
Cleveland	175,267
Harrison	98,967
For Mayor—Gilroy, Democrat	173,510
" " Einstin, Republican	97,923
The whole popular vote, in the United States was	5,556,533
Cleveland's majority	382,956

Among the most active workers of the protesting party at Chicago was Mr. Charles S. Fairchilds. With him worked William R. Grace, and following near was Edward M. Shepard, of Brooklyn; G. F. Peabody, Alexander E. Orr, Fred. R. Coudert, William A. Beach, E. Ellery Anderson, Franklin Locke and others. Their presence and influence was utilized by William C. Whitney and his associates, all working together.

That Mr. Richard Croker was really pleased with the work of the convention he took every means to make apparent. After a very necessary, but brief rest, he made the most elaborate and expensive arrangements for decorating his own private residence, as well as influencing other parties to do the same. He also arranged for the decoration of the "Sagamore Club," which is the fashionable uptown Tammany club of the Twenty-third Assembly District. It was located in a fine five-story brown-stone building, on West 124th street, nearly facing Mount Morris Park, and adjacent to the then residence of Mr. Croker. This club had a membership of fully one thousand active Democrats, including nearly all the most prominent members of the Fourteenth-street Wigwam. Arrangements were made with the Edison Company to furnish the large number of 541 incandescent lights, naturally of the national colors, red, white and blue, with which to illuminate the front of the club-house. Expense was no object, but the finest and most gorgeous decoration obtainable was. Two thousand feet of wire was used in putting up these lights.

It was at this club that Mr. Cleveland was entertained by the Tammany leaders after the great "Notification meeting" at the Madison Square Garden, held on the evening of July 20th, 1892.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

AFTER THE NOMINATION.



HE first public meeting of the Tammany Society after the nomination of Mr. Cleveland was that held on the national anniversary. On this occasion it was commenced somewhat informally by a person in the large assembly room of Tammany Hall, before the official time of meeting, arising and calling for three cheers for Grover Cleveland. Four thousand followers of the Wigwam had gathered there to celebrate Independence Day. They responded to the call for cheers with such enthusiasm as to interrupt the regular proceedings for fully five minutes. Never, perhaps, in the history of Tammany Hall has the mention of a favorite son's name been received with such a welcome as that aroused by the two magic words, "Grover Cleveland."

The repeated and long-continued outbursts of cheers for the Democratic candidate for President astonished the politicians. Those who are prominent in the councils of Tammany Hall and were seated on the platform watched the crowd with evident astonishment. Hundreds of men with lusty throats jumped on chairs and shouted for Cleveland. As many more threw their hats into the air. It was a wonderful Cleveland demonstration—and it occurred in Tammany Hall.

Congressmen from the Southern and Western States were palpably astounded. Several of them, who had favored Cleveland's nomination at Chicago, referred to the demonstration in their speeches. They said there could no longer be any doubt that Tammany Hall was sincerely enlisted for the national ticket.

The celebration itself was one of the most successful ever held by Tammany Hall on the natal day.

The large assembly room was handsomely decorated, light blue velvet, embroidered with gold stars, was festooned around the platform, gallery and boxes. The escutcheons of the various States hung on staffs along the gallery front, and the Star-Spangled Banner was the only flag to be seen. In the centre of the platform was a bank of roses. On each side was an immense floral horseshoe. One of these bore the inscription "1789," the year of Tammany Society's founding. The other was florally inscribed with the date "1892," the 116th year of American freedom.

There was not even standing space in the assembly room at 10 o'clock. Every seat on the floor and in the gallery and boxes had been occupied long before the hour set for the beginning of the programme. Bayne's Sixty-ninth Regiment Band played popular and patriotic music, while the crowd awaited the appearance of the Sachems, the officers of the Society and the orators.

In the meeting room of the Executive Committee sat Richard Croker. He was surrounded by his advisers and district leaders. The Sachems of the Society wore huge collars of blue velvet with stripes of gold. Mr. Croker wore one of

these insignia. While the members of the Society were receiving red badges to pin on the left breast, the Congressional guests arrived in barouches. Congressman Amos J. Cummings piloted them through the crowd to the presence of Mr. Croker. They were introduced to the Tammany leader and he gave each of them a hearty reception. After the introduction the Congressmen stood around in groups. They took good looks at the Tammany Hall chief they had heard so much about.

"It is time we went upstairs," remarked Commissioner Gilroy.

"Yes," answered Leader Croker. "Form in line and send some one to tell the band to strike up a march."

It was a few minutes after 10 when the procession started on its winding march upstairs. William H. Dobbs, the Sagamore, was in the lead, bearing aloft the liberty cap on a six-foot pole. He was followed by Commissioner Gilroy, the Grand Sachem. Then came Daniel M. Donegan, the Wiskinkie, carrying a tomahawk, and Sachems Croker, Charles Welde, John McQuade, John J. Gorman, William H. Clark, W. Bourke Cockran, Bernard F. Martin, Henry D. Purroy, Thomas L. Feitner, John H. V. Arnold and Maurice F. Holahan, Scribe, and John B. McGoldrick, Secretary. They escorted Congressman William J. Bryan, of Nebraska; Congressman John O. Pendleton, of West Virginia; Congressman Benjamin A. Enloe, of Tennessee; Congressman H. A. Herbert, of Alabama; Congressman Adolph Meyer, of Louisiana; Congressman Owen Scott, of Illinois; Congressman C. H. Mansur, of Missouri; Congressman J. N. P. Castle, of Minnesota; Delegate W. A. Smith, of Arizona; Mr. S. M. White, of California, and ex-Governor Bigg, of Delaware. At the end of the procession came Colonel Fellows, Judge Martine, James W. Collier, the theatrical manager, who had always been a faithful Wigwamite; Judge Ehrlich, ex-Senator John J. Cullen, Police Commissioner Martin, Dock Commissioner Cram, James W. Boyle, William H. Burke, Nelson J. Waterbury, Jr., Nelson Smith and Congressman Dunphy.

As soon as the procession arrived at the doors of the big hall the crowd set up a shout and the band played a grand march. Reaching the platform, the distinguished visitors were given front seats and Grand Sachem Gilroy took possession of the Chairman's table.

Senator Daniel, of Virginia, and Congressman Wilson, of West Virginia, Permanent Chairman of the Chicago Convention, were to deliver "long talks." Neither was able to do so. Senator Daniel did not come to New York. Congressman Wilson arrived Sunday evening, but was taken ill at the Hoffman House.

Letters were read from distinguished members of the party who had been invited but were unable to attend the celebration. Secretary McGoldrick began reading the first letter.

"Gray Gables," he said, but he had scarcely sounded the last syllable when a mighty cheer went up. He was compelled to stop reading by the continuance of the applause. It was at this point that the man in the gallery proposed three cheers for Cleveland, and the crowd renewed its enthusiasm for the head of the national ticket. Mr. Cleveland's letter was then read as follows:

MR. CLEVELAND'S LETTER.

GRAY GABLES, BUZZARD'S BAY, MASS., June 29, 1892.

HON. THOMAS F. GILROY, Grand Sachem.

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of an invitation to attend the celebration of the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of American Independence, by the Tammany Society, on the 4th day of July next.

It will be impossible for me to take part in the interesting exercises you contemplate; but I hope the celebration will be abundantly pleasant and profitable to those who are fortunately able to participate.

I believe that Independence Day should be celebrated with zeal and enthusiasm by the old and young in every part of our land and in every condition of American life. No man, woman or child within the limits of American citizenship should forget or outgrow the sentiments related to the observance of the Fourth day of July.

Because there are influences and tendencies abroad which tend to the neglect of this anniversary the valuable and patriotic efforts of the Tammany Society to rescue it from indifference ought to be universally applauded.

I notice that my invitation contains the declaration that the coming celebration by the Society "is designed to be of exceptional significance and extended effect." I have no fear that this design will miscarry, for I am satisfied that the Tammany Society will not lose the opportunity the occasion affords to teach that the Declaration of Independence was a movement on the part of the people determined to govern themselves; that the patriotism it inspires enjoins unselfish care for our country's welfare; that political endeavor is only safe and useful when undertaken in the people's interest, and that political organization is only effective and successful when approved and trusted by an intelligent popular judgment.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

This letter, like every other reference to Grover Cleveland, was received with hearty applause.

A letter was then read from Senator David B. Hill, which was less unanimously applauded. In this the following sentiments were expressed:

"This year's celebration of the anniversary of the country's independence, preceding as it does an important political contest involving the supremacy of the essential principles of our free government, may appropriately be made the occasion of the renewal of our faith in those cherished principles which have been for many years faithfully championed by the intrepid Democracy of Tammany Hall.

"In my judgment the hope of the people lies in the success of the Democratic party. Better than any other political organization it protects their rights and represents their best interests. It has always been the defender of constitutional liberty and of the reserved rights of the States. It opposes centralization; it boldly maintains the doctrine that Federal taxation should be for public rather than private purpose; it advocates honest money—the gold and silver currency of our Constitution; it favors home rule for States and municipalities; it insists upon an honest and economical expenditure of public money; it opposes force bills and Federal interference in domestic affairs of States; it antagonizes monopolies; it rejects unjust sumptuary legislation; it is a friend of labor and it hates hypocrisy, sham and fraud. * * *

"The Democracy of New York in the approaching struggle should present a solid front to the common enemy. Loyalty to cardinal Democratic principles and regularly nominated candidates is the supreme duty of the hour.

"I remain your fellow-citizen,

"DAVID B. HILL."

The next letter read was from Governor Flower, of New York. All the letters received could not be read, so numerous were they from all parts of the country.

Congressman Owen Scott, of Illinois, made some highly interesting remarks, and was followed by E. T. Talieferro, of Alabama, who said that he had never addressed an audience north of the Ohio River, but he believed that the North and South were united and cemented by the bond of brotherhood.

"I came North several years ago," said he, "and while here attended a Fourth of July celebration in Boston. There was the same music, the same enthusiasm that we manifested in the South. The bands played first 'Columbia,' then 'Dixie,' and then, sweeter than all, came the strains of 'Home Sweet Home.' It was the pleasure experienced in that celebration that made me glad to accept the invitation to come here to-day. I have a message to deliver to you. The success of the Democratic ticket in this election means, upon the issue of the Force bill, life or death politically to Alabama. Let me carry the message back to my people that you will join hands with us in an attack against the contests in the past, of her convictions, and of the courage of her convictions.

"We have heard a great deal about Tammany in the South. We have heard of her heard of you, and some look upon you as a tradition or as a legend. During the Chicago convention we stood spellbound before the eloquence of your matchless orator, Bourke Cockran, and we could do nothing but respect you and love you." (Cheers.)

Other speakers were S. M. White, of California; H. Mansur, of Missouri, and Congressman Pendleton, of West Virginia.

The visiting Congressmen who favored Cleveland's nomination were delighted at the enthusiasm of the Tammanyites for Mr. Cleveland. "Cleveland," said Congressman Herbert, of Alabama, "will be supported royally by Tammany Hall. Why, the cheering for him here to-day almost equals the cheering he received at Chicago when he was nominated."

"When I go home," said Congressman Bryan, of Nebraska, "I will tell the Democrats of Nebraska that New York is all right. Tammany Hall is a great organization, and it is solid for the ticket."

The regular programme was begun by Grand Sachem Gilroy extending a welcome to the visiting Democratic Congressmen and the crowd in general. After the song "Our Glorious Union Forever," by the Tammany Glee Club, Commissioner of Accounts Charles G. F. Wahle read the Declaration of Independence in a loud and clear voice.

Congressman William J. Bryan was introduced as the first speaker. He was warmly cheered. Before he began some one proposed three cheers for Mr. Wilson, the crowd thinking Mr. Bryan was the West Virginia Congressman. They were followed with cheers for Tammany Hall and the Democratic party. Mr. Bryan was forced to wait several minutes before the cheering subsided. Then he spoke for nearly an hour. He was heard throughout the hall and his speech was frequently interrupted with applause.

In concluding, Mr. Bryan said that in his own State of Nebraska, while the Democrats were clearly in a majority and had a majority in the House of Representatives, the legislative districts were so divided that the Republican party, although in a minority, elected their own Senators.

"The time is coming," said he, "when the election of United States Senators should be taken from our State legislators and placed directly in the hands of the people." (Prolonged cheers.)

No one at this time even dreamed that Congressman Bryan would be the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1896 and 1900.

On the afternoon of the next day, July 5th, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held, the ostensible object being to obtain reports from the leaders of the twenty-four Assembly Districts, and to consider a proposition to divide the city into thirty districts, as could legally be done under the recent Act of the Legislature on Reapportionment. The reports were not ready, but the time was utilized to very good purpose. A private conference between Messrs. Croker,

Gilroy and the Corporation Counsel, Mr. Clark, was held, which resulted in the presentation of the following resolution to the committee:

Resolved, That the Tammany organization, in executive meeting assembled, cordially indorse the principles enunciated by the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, and pledges its earnest and untiring support to the nominees of that convention—Grover Cleveland, of New York and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, Mr. Gilroy (Grand Sachem) presided at this meeting. In behalf of the resolution Mr. Croker spoke for the space of twenty minutes, a long speech for him. He urged upon the members of the Executive Committee the great importance of the coming elections, and the necessity for earnest work, explaining, fully, that though the Tammany delegation had worked for Senator Hill in the past, it was now their duty to support the nominees of the national convention. He said:

"We gave Mr. Hill our best, and taking all the circumstances together, we did the right thing. But Mr. Hill wasn't nominated and Cleveland was. I am convinced that Mr. Cleveland is stronger with the people than Mr. Hill would have been and that the party is not weakened by his nomination. I have been looking over the field and I am convinced also that Cleveland can carry the State by a larger majority than any Presidential candidate in a generation. It is a rather curious thing—I don't know whether you have noticed it or not—but Presidential results in this State alternate. Mr. Lincoln carried the State in 1864. In '68 Seymour carried it for the Democrats. Then Grant, in '72, brought the State to the Republicans. But in '76 again Mr. Tilden carried it, Garfield in '80, Cleveland in '84, and Harrison in 1888. It is swinging toward the Democracy this year.

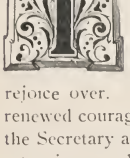
"The party will carry the State, and it is our affair to create a majority in New York that shall be greater than that of Seymour in 1868, Tilden in 1876 or Cleveland's first majority in 1884.

"Now I want the district leaders to talk to the district captains and the men upon whom you depend. Urge them to work harder this year than they ever have done. If there is any grumbling against Cleveland stop it. Heal up any little disaffection that may exist in your districts and all pull together."

After some other remarks, all in the same spirit, the district leaders were asked to report on the feeling prevailing in their several districts at an early date. There seemed to be the best of feeling in the Committee, and perfect confidence that they were going to fight for the winning ticket. And their premonitions proved to be correct.

CHARTER XLIX.

A RED LETTER DAY.



HE 8th of January, 1892, was a red-letter day with Tammany Hall. That date (the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans), is always a day of special observance with them, memorizing a victory won by a Democratic General after their own hearts, General Andrew Jackson. But on that particular anniversary they had more modern victories to celebrate and rejoice over. Not only had the November elections filled their hearts with renewed courage, but their already large membership was growing so rapidly that the Secretary almost required an assistant to aid him in recording the names of returning wanderers, as well as of new recruits.

On the first of January there were already eight thousand recorded, and each day thereafter added largely to the number; but on the 8th they poured into the handsome Wigwam, on Fourteenth street, with a rush. Regiments of politicians, who had long been fighting against Tammany, had given up the battle and surrendered at discretion, ready once more to renew their allegiance, and very glad to get back home again. County Democrats, Voorhisites, and even Republicans, had abandoned the tepees of the weakened enemy, and made with all speed for the shelter of the strong defences of the old Wigwam. There were also a large number of young men anxious to cast in their lot with the conquering tribe. All were welcomed, the old truants with the new pupils.

Among some of the well-known names added to the membership was that of William S. Andrews, the great "Resolution Draftsman" of the County Democracy; Jordan L. Mott, a sometime truant; Mr. Charles W. Dayton appeared as a dèbutant. One of those who excited much interest was William J. O'Dair, who had just been elected to the Assembly in the Twenty-third District of New York as a combined Republican and County Democrat. He was warmly congratulated upon getting under the shelter of the Wigwam. One of the candidates for Alderman in the Sixth District, who had deserted only a few weeks before, came in looking very happy, indeed, to be readmitted; while hundreds, who must here be nameless, but who had voted against Tammany in November, joined the crowd already anxiously awaiting enrollment at the hands of the Secretary. Among those who could not escape observation, if he would, was the tall President of the Brooklyn Bridge, Colonel Alfred Wagstaff.

At 8 P. M. a general adjournment took place, and the ever-growing crowd, leaving the lower offices, made their way to the public Hall, where Nelson Smith was made Chairman; John B. McGoldrick, Reading Secretary; Joel O. Stevens and John G. H. Meyer, Recording Secretaries; John McQuade, Treasurer; Robert Kelly, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Resolutions were passed in approval of ex-Governor Hill, also affirming the necessity of economy in State affairs, and commending the administration of the

city finances. Mr. Cockran then followed in a very fervid speech in which he referred to the fact of the numerous victories of Tammany and also to the speedy recuperation of the party after their occasional defeats.

Mayor Gilroy then introduced the following resolution: "That we denounce the tyrannical, unchristian, and barbarious persecution of inoffensive Hebrews by the Russian Government, and extend to the helpless victims of this ferocious oppression our heartfelt sympathy, in the misery under which they suffer."

This was passed unanimously.

It was freely, though quietly, stated, on this occasion, that the Society had a preference for the nominee at the ensuing Democratic Convention, but that, if their preference could not be secured, Tammany would loyally sustain whomsoever the convention should select. Before separating the Executive Committee appointed a special committee to visit Washington, on January 20th, to urge the National Democratic Committee to select the City of New York as the place for holding the nominating convention the ensuing month of June.

* * *

If this was a day of rejoicing, still greater was the jubilation at the close of the year 1892, when, after the grand national victory of November had been duly celebrated, and the routine business for the coming year provided for by the holding of primaries in each of the thirty Assembly Districts of the city, in which, at this time, there were no contests of any importance, all was peace and harmony in the Wigwam. The only strugglers were those outside, striving to get in; all the once opposing parties seemed of one mind, in this emulation. Scenes of the same nature had occurred before in the history of the Society, but on this occasion the rush was unprecedented—including not only County Democrats, Anti-Snappers, Voorhis men, but also old Republicans, who came in shoals, not forgetting a contingent from the old O'Brien faction. Among the notable Republican converts was John Nugent, a recent leader in the Republican Tenth Assembly District. Another of note was Dr. Wicks Washburn. Still another very active Republican convert was Mr. James Hart. Then, again, William P. J. Carthy, ex-Assemblyman; City Paymaster P. J. Tinmerman; H. N. Elliot, and others from the County Democracy.

One of the most interesting converts from the Republican party, who renounced his old allegiance, and came to cast in his lot with the Democracy, was the Rev. Nicholas Bjerring, formerly of the Greco-Russian Church in this city, well-known in literary and social circles of the metropolis.

Among the curiosities of conversion was observed one of John I. Davenport's old political employees.

The only changes in district leaderships for the year were in the First, Third and Thirtieth Districts, where Colonel Michael C. Murphy, Assemblyman Timothy Sullivan and Coroner John B. Shea, succeeded respectively, Frank T. Fitzgerald, Henry C. Miner and Henry D. Purroy. The new General Committee had, at that date, a voting membership of 3,539, and an actual membership of from 12,000 to 15,000. The District Committees averaging about 1,500 each, making a total of 45,000 for the whole city.

It is one of the most interesting features of the historical Tammany organization that it has ever been subjected to alternate periods of virulent attacks by

its political enemies, interspersed with seasons of special increase in growth, influence, and consequent elation of spirits. Ever since the dissolution of the old Federal party, these contrasts have occurred. Other parties have lived out their appointed time, fallen into the senile stage, utterly decayed, and died a natural death, while the Tammany Democracy, invariably rallies upon the old battle-ground with renewed vigor, after every temporary set back.

Why this radical difference in the fate of the Tammany Society, and its numerous and varied defunct opponents?

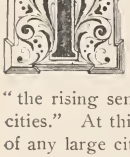
Is it not in great measure from the fact that the Tammany Society has always acted upon broad general principles which every man can understand—such as the equality of all classes before the law; the right to freedom of personal action up to the limit of non-interference with others; the duty of all citizens to defend the integrity of the soil. The right of the States to maintain all the prerogatives conceded to them by the Constitution; the right of cities and towns to control their own local affairs?

On the other hand, their opponents have been in the habit of assuming a spirit of superior virtue, unaccompanied by any evidence of this possession, with a strong tendency to favor classes, and to interfere with the natural rights of individuals; in sumptuary matters.

Particularly of late years it has been very noticeable how largely the Republican campaigns have been conducted (in this State), on the simple ground of abuse, condemnation, and unmitigated slanders against Tammany, without evidence or logical argument. Honest people will not bear too much of that sort of thing, and the natural impulse is, with those accessible to reason, to resent such wholesale abuse of their fellow citizens and finally to sympathize with and act with them. Much of the latter day strength of Tammany is recruited from voters fairly driven out of the Republican ranks by their dishonest and unjust treatment of their Democratic opponents.

CHAPTER L.

THE TARIFF—MAYOR GILROY'S MESSAGE.



HE new year, 1894, opened with the cheering announcement by the retiring Democratic Governor, Roswell P. Flower, that the State of New York, for the first time in seventy-five years, was free from debt. Has it been free from debt under his Republican successors? In this message of the Governor another subject of importance to the metropolis was referred to, as "the rising sentiment in favor of consolidation of the neighboring towns and cities." At this time the tax-rate of the City of New York was lower than that of any large city in the United States, and this was under a Democratic Mayor, who was also a Tammany Sachem.

Early in January it is usually the custom to reorganise the Tammany Hall Committees; that is, if changes in the leadership or membership seems best for the interest of the Wigwam; if not required, of course, the status is not disturbed. Changes are only made for cause, not arbitrarily.

The question of the tariff and the "Bland Bill," for the coinage of the silver seigniorage in the Treasury, was occupying the attention of Congress, while the evil effect of the McKinley bill was pressing upon the business and commercial interests of the metropolis, and the suffering, but unthinking, were clamoring against the President for not producing the "good times" which had been hoped for, but for the failure of which the administration was in no way responsible—for one reason that his predecessor had left an empty treasury.

One of the earliest meetings of Tammany's General Committee, in January, 1895, adopted a resolution expressing the general Democratic sentiment as to the desirability of a prompt settlement of the Tariff question, which resolution, inferentially, at least, condemned the Wilson bill as an unconstitutional and undemocratic measure, which was one of the main causes of delayed prosperity. In fact, the recent Congressional elections (special) in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Districts were mainly of interest as affecting votes on that half-way and generally unsatisfactory bill.

For seven years the Democratic party had been struggling for a radical reform of the tariff. In the House, the Democratic votes had passed the reasonable Mills bill, but this was lost in the Republican Senate. Of course, under the Harrison administration, no progress could be made; but in 1890 the contest was renewed, and the elections of that year showed a popular majority of over 1,300,000 against a high protective tariff, and gave a Democratic majority of 148 in the House, but the Senate still stood in the way of relief; and thus the Wilson bill was finally accepted by the Democrats, because they could get no better, though it was far from meeting the wishes of the party. The later Dingley bill was called the "revenue-reducing bill."

The annual message of the Mayor of New York, Mr. Gilroy, was, or ought to have been, a convincing document, disproving the frequent charge against

Tammany, by its enemies, of mismanagement and general corruption in the administration of municipal affairs— showing, as it did, that, while the tax rate had been materially reduced, most valuable improvements had been carried on; and this in face of the fact that New York city had paid very heavy State taxes, out of all proportion to the taxes paid by the country counties

During the year just passed the city had expended, or contracted, for extensive dock improvements the sum of $2,750,000; for new school houses, $1,400,000; for street repairs, $1,000,000; for Croton water works, including additional high-water service, and the sanitary protection of water supply, $3,750,000; for new armories, $240,000; for the Museums of Art and Natural History, $196,000.

In addition to these sums, there was expended for new buildings, including the splendid new Court House, on Centre street, and a new asylum for the insane, in asphalting numerous streets, in rebuilding the interior of Castle Garden and establishing the Aquarium there, with other improvements and adornments of the city—in all to the amount of $20,850,000. During all the hard winter the Mayor was indefatigable in devising means for the employment of men whose usual avocations had been interrupted by the general stagnation of business.

In the spring there was a fresh outburst of anti-Tammany combinations, including those chronic factionists, the Steckler brothers; the Michael Duffy Association; Walter Bahan's rather limited followers; and some of the "left-over" Voorhis party; while the perennial Parkhurst was in full bloom again. Later in the season the combination was increased by the organization of the redoubtable "Seventy," with which the so-called Good Government Clubs affiliated. It was at this period, April 23d, 1894, that the "Lexow Committee" was appointed at Albany to inquire into the charges against the police force of New York city, of which all the convictions found were subsequently quashed in the Supreme Court, sitting on May 21, 1896, chiefly on the ground that the witnesses produced by the prosecution were of such debased character and criminal record as to be unworthy of belief. The lawyer employed on behalf of Parkhurst, the chief complainant, was John W. Goff, later Recorder of New York. The most despicable means were employed by Parkhurst to try and injure the Tammany organization, even descending to the employment of young boy spies to follow and watch respectable citizens (known to be Democrats) on election day.

A curious instance of how prejudice without knowledge nullifies the reasoning powers is illustrated by a little incident which occurred in the course of the charitable work undertaken by Tammany during the winter. One of the "unco guid" of the North Baptist Church was the chief performer of the little farce. Several thousand dollars had been raised by Tammany workers of the Ninth District, and this money was put into the hands of its leader, Mr. Boyle, for distribution. He divided it into smaller sums and sent checks to leading persons in the district whom he knew to be trustworthy. Among these was the pastor of the church referred to, the Rev. John J. Brouner. Mr. Boyle accompanied the check with a kindly note requesting that the money be dispensed for charitable purposes. When the announcement of the reception of this unsolicited gift was made at a church meeting, a Republican deacon arose and vehemently opposed its acceptance, on the ground of its "coming from a corrupt source." Fortunately, the pastor was endowed with a modicum of common sense, and kept the check, subsequently putting the money to good use in his immediate neighborhood. A

prominent Tammany man remarked, upon a similar incident, "that the descendants of such Pharisees may be found in politics," adding, "they are those who thank God that they are not as other men, and straightway go out to form Mugwump circles."

Early in May, Mr. Croker, whose health had been failing for some time, resigned all his political offices which he held in the Tammany organization, retaining only simple membership therein. His resignation, which had been foreseen, was accepted by all the members present, with only one dissenting voice. No other leader was elected in Mr. Croker's place—a position he had so ably filled for the nine preceding years, and, in advance of this period, he had rendered fully twenty years of faithful work in the interests of the organization. His retirement at this time did not result from any loss of interest, but was simply a life-saving necessity, and was insisted upon by his physician.

Mr. John McQuade, a man of large business experience, was made Chairman of the Finance Committee, but the organization, as a whole, underwent no material change, every department being in a healthful condition, and well able to sustain their several parts in the general management; thus no immediate necessity existed for selecting a special leader. As an old and experienced member remarked: "When a new leader is really needed, one will be developed—Tammany never lacks able men."

The Fourth of July programme was prepared in ample time, with the usual supply of excellent speakers and the unfailing enthusiastic audience, but one event, which had not been announced, was received with a more intense outbreak of rejoicing than all the rest of the formal arrangements. This was the unexpected return and appearance on the scene of Mr. Croker, which, to all but a very limited number, was wholly unlooked for. His reception was cordial in the extreme, and to a great number of those present would have been ample compensation, if it had simply been substituted for the usual proceedings. As full descriptions have been given in these pages of several of these celebrations, it will not be necessary to go into any detailed description of this one, which so many of our readers will personally recollect; and, really, the main event of the day was the sudden return of Tammany's old chief, who, however, took no part in the public proceedings, only greeting the friends who came to him and departing from the hall before the orators commenced their "long talks."

CHAPTER LI.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND GOVERNOR HILL.

THE Constitutional Convention which met this summer (1894), largely interested Tammany, as dealing with the question of the reapportionment of the Senate and Assembly districts of the State, with which, of course, considerable partisan feeling in both parties existed. It was not a new question. For the preceeding fifteen years it had been the cause not only of serious debate, but also of not a little ill feeling. The Constitution of the State had provided that an enumeration of the population should be taken every ten years, and that the legislative districts should be apportioned by the Legislature next sitting upon the new enumeration. An enumeration should have been taken in 1885. At that time David B. Hill was Governor, but the Republicans had control of the Legislature. An enumeration bill was passed, but vetoed by the Governor, on the gorund that it gave to the Republicans control of the appointment of the enumerating officers. After the Legislature adjourned Governor Hill called an extra session, which reconvened, but passed the same bill which had been vetoed. Discrimination was clearly against the City of New York. The greatest injury to the Democratic party fell on Kings County, now the New York Borough of Brooklyn. Tammany felt somewhat relieved when the worst was known.

The Democratic State Convention, which assembled in Saratoga on September 29th, again selected David B. Hill as their nominee for Governor, Daniel N. Lockwood, of Erie County, for Lieutenant-Governor, and William J. Gaynor, of Kings County, for Judge of Court of Appeals. Although the last State election had not been reassuring, the Democratic party of New York met with brave words and good courage to renew the contest lost in 1894. The Committee on Credentials made its first announcement that the regular delegates from New York and Kings Counties would be seated. The TAMMANY TIMES, published in New York city, which was being distributed by thousands, helped to create a furor in favor of Hill, his picture being on the front page, and this was in every delegate's hand. When Hill's name was regularly placed before the convention and the roll call demanded, there were 383 responses in the affirmative, every county in the State having voted for him. On this occasion Mr. Hill was voted for in spite of himself. His candidate had been Mr. Thatcher, who was withdrawn.

The platform adopted expressed its condemnation of a single silver standard, a worse than war tariff (the McKinley), and satisfaction at the repeal of the Sherman law, adding: "We concur with President Cleveland in regard to the new tariff, the Wilson bill, that it does not embody the full measure of tariff reform needed." "We reaffirm the declaration of principles contained in the Democratic National platform of 1892, in favor of honest money; economy in public expenses; just and liberal provision for disabled Union soldiers, and the true principles of

Civil Service reform." This platform repudiated the Income Tax; favored all just legislation in the interests of labor, and denounced, " as contrary to the spirit of our institutions, any display of religious intolerance or political proscription on account of any special form of religious belief."

The clause in the platform referring to labor appeared to have been widely read and appreciated by the class most interested. At a meeting in Cooper Union, held on October 25th, which was addressed by the nominee for Governor, the immense hall was filled by almost exclusively an audience of workingmen, who had come to see and hear the man who had done so much for the industrial interests of the community, and was ready to do more. Between forty and fifty different trade organizations being represented, including some musical societies and other forms of industry not usually classed as labor. At the close of Mr. Hill's address, which was vociferously applauded, a representative of Typographical Union No. 6, read a list of beneficial laws affecting labor which Mr. Hill, as Lieutenant-Governor, and Governor, had secured for the State of New York.

But enthusiasm does not always elect. And, in truth, it may be said, that no political organization in the United States ever had as formidable a combination against it as Tammany had at this time. Very shortly after the adjournment of the State Convention the experienced leaders had serious consultations how best to meet the threatening forces arrayed against them, their main efforts being directed to securing the right candidate for the office of Mayor of the City of New York. Several of the prominent officers of the Wigwam favored the nomination of Frederic R. Coudert, which would undoubtedly have drawn some of the professed reformers from their new allegiance to strange gods, thus exhibiting great magnanimity on the part of Tammany; for Mr. Coudert had lately been working against the organization, but was still recognized as a Democrat untainted with Republicanism. Unfortunately, another spirit had been at work among the leaders of the Assembly Districts, which rendered the nomination of Mr. Coudert impolitic, if not impossible. Former Mayor Hugh Grant favored the candidacy of Nathan Strauss, and he was finally selected, and accepted the nomination, which, however, he later resigned, and the name of Hugh Grant was substituted.

What had given the combined opponents of Tammany the absolute assurance that they could secure its defeat was the fact that in the State election of 1893 the Democratic candidate for the Court of Appeals had only won in the city by a majority of 31,677, and this was taken as a safe estimate of Tammany's strength. From this style of arguing the antagonistic element somewhat naturally, though erroneously, came to the conclusion, that if all the enemies of Tammany could be united, in addition to their permanent opponents, the Republicans, it would be easy work to overcome a matter of 30,000 votes.

The strongest enemies to be met in the independent camps were undoubtedly the State Democracy, and the organization of the " Seventy," which was formally launched on the political tide early in September, and with which the lesser anti-Tammany associations and clubs were more or less affiliated; but the idea of this general combination must, in strict justice, be attributed to Parkhurst, whose continuous preaching and personal influence had originally aroused, by his persistent assertions of Tammany's wickedness, and his own purity, the animosity of thousands of ill-informed but probably honest people; for it is a well understood element in uncultured human nature to take persistent assertion for fact and accu-

sation for proof. One of the preacher's favorite topics was that of election frauds, which were urged against the police force, including indiscriminately, Republicans and Democrats, but which the orators of the former party habitually referred to as "Tammany frauds," though, as ex-Mayor Hewitt pointed out, the same stereotyped charges were brought in 1875, when Tammany held no office in the city government; and the same occurred under his own mayoralty. The inference plainly to be drawn from his published letter is that, in his opinion, wherever there were human beings and strong temptations, a certain percentage would fail in their duty under the very best conditions. The whole number indicted, out of some four thousand, were only seventy-two, of which twenty-nine were dismissed as unsustained, a few pleaded guilty; other doubtful cases were suspended, or referred to the next session of Oyer and Terminer, but were not heard of again. All the convictions were procured by a Democratic District Attorney, irrespective of politics, with no question of what party they belonged to. But out of these trials the reformers, in their haste to make political capital, did not scruple to throw such dishonor upon their own city that foreign newspapers and other distant critics felt justified in speaking of the metropolis of our country as if it were a place unfit for habitation—a species of treason which no Democrat was ever guilty of.

One of the worst of these defamers was the Rev. George H. Hepworth, who, in his book on Armenia, refers to Tammany in such a malicious and untruthful spirit that every intelligent reader naturally asks himself: Is a man thus capable of slandering his own fellow citizens a reliable witness on any subject, especially the political conditions of a foreign country?

After the defeat of the Democratic ticket, in 1894, inexperienced people began to talk as if the end of Tammany had come, but the old-timers of the Wigwam were not in the least dismayed. They had experienced reverses before, and had outlived them, rising from them with renewed strength, like the ancient hero of Grecian mythology, Anteus, who, in his struggle with a formidable enemy, was reinvigorated every time he touched mother earth. The blow this time was not mortal. In the first place, the Tammany people knew that the adverse result had been brought about not because they were sinners above all men, but simply from the combination of unnatural allies, who, in the nature of things, could not long remain in unison, being held together not by any platform of principles, but largely by an ardent desire to achieve the handling of the city patronage, and not by any recognized historic party who had a future to look to. If these temporary allies had been the pure and disinterested men they claimed to be, they would not have conducted their campaign on a basis of wild calumny and falsification, as they did; and, in view of this, Tammany was satisfied that, with a little time for reflection, the mass of honest voters, who had been misled by misstatements and the hypocritical pretence of superior purity of motive, would soon see these pretenders unmasked by their own actions, and the betrayed people would recover their second sober thought and come back to the party of less pretence, but more habitual honesty of purpose. Besides, the Tammany vote had not been small; its candidate for Mayor, Hugh Grant, received 109,000 votes, which was only eight thousand less than the vote which had elected him in 1888; so the veterans felt, in their hearts, that it would not be long before these deserters would be speeding back to their old home, under the permanent shelter of the Wigwam.

CHAPTER LII.

SOME REVERSES—PARKHURST—MAYNARD.



LTHOUGH New York State would have failed of its electoral vote for Grover Cleveland without the loyal aid rendered by Tammany, that organization stood on its dignity, and made no immediate effort to secure recognition at the hands of the President, as he had not been their preferred candidate, while naturally not averse to accepting any good thing which the Administration felt inclined to put in their way; and, while the men from "up the State," some of whom had even signed a protest against Cleveland's nomination, did not hesitate to make personal application at the White House for a share of the spoils, the officers of the Tammany Society checked the inclination to rush to Washington, but, instead, agreed among themselves what it was rightly entitled to, selected the names of the men for the offices to which they were best fitted, and, after waiting a reasonable time, quietly sent them to the Executive Mansion. Such was the seemly method employed by Tammany; while from the country parts of this State, and from every other State in the Union, the White House was besieged with office-beggars of every class and description.

The most important event of 1893 and which had a far reaching effect upon the Tammany organization was, of course, the State election. Already a number of small factions, calling themselves anti-Tammany, and with no other excuse for existence, were cropping up, destined, in the end, to extinction, but troublesome for the time they continued, simply seeking their individual interests, regardless of the greater interests of the party. Among these events affecting the interests of Tammany which burst into sudden prominence this year was that outbreak of unrestrained fanaticism which has been called "the Parkhurst assault," but though the reverend gentleman's name has been specially identified with the attack, ostensibly directed to the New York police force, yet, in intent and purpose, meaning injury to Tammany, he was not the originator of the movement which eventuated in the appointment of the notorious "Lexow Committee of Investigation."

The original instigator was a business man, a cotton broker, named Henry Morehouse Taber, who happened to be foreman of the Grand Jury of March, 1892, and who, in that capacity, made a wholesale charge of corruption against the police force and the police courts, acting, in this matter, in conjunction with Dr. Parkhurst. Adding his own opinion to the official presentment, he declared his belief that the police were paid to protect law-breakers, and that the corruption fund existing for this precise purpose amounted to $7,000,000 or $8,000,000! That a commission of inquiry into this man's sanity was not immediately instituted remains one of the mysteries of that period. This veracious individual indulged in other eccentricities of conduct, all of which were not known to the public until after his death, when his peculiar will disclosed some of them. During all of his adult life Mr. Taber had posed as a devout Christian, being on intimate terms with

his Presbyterian pastor, acting also as a trustee of the church, and closely connected with other Christian societies; yet he left a will plainly asserting his total disbelief in any and all religions, deeming them all mere superstitions. Of course, Mr. Taber, as all others, have the right to believe or disbelieve what they choose, but what amount of mental honesty in any matter of moral ethics can exist in a mind thus inconsistent with itself? A daily outward appearance, and habitual profession of faith in Christianity, while, in reality, at heart a confirmed agnostic. While Mr. Taber lived he and Parkhurst worked together—the one a self-pronounced hypocrite, and the other an impracticable theorist. Their work ending, as might have been expected, in a profound fiasco, so far as permanent results were concerned, to which farther reference will be made.

The momentous Democratic State Convention which met this year at Saratoga, on October 5th, met with no pronounced opposition to its nominees until the name of Judge Isaac H. Maynard was presented as the candidate of the convention for Judge of the Court of Appeals, which drew out some hostile remarks. However, the whole ticket presented was accepted by the convention, and ratified at a meeting in the Wigwam, in New York, on the evening of the 27th. At this meeting Governor Flower presided; many enthusiastic speeches were made, and Colonel Fellows took occasion to specially eulogize Judge Maynard; yet, at this very time, there was, in the minds of some of the leaders, more than a faint suspicion that the Judge would prove a drag-anchor to the whole of the State ticket, which, indeed, it did, as the following figures plainly show:

Though the Democratic ticket had a majority of 35,066 in the city, there was this difference: The candidate for Secretary of State, Cord Meyers, received a vote of 65,000 throughout the State, while Maynard was simply slaughtered in the country towns, and, even in the city, fell some 30,000 below the general ticket; and thus, although the victory remained in the city with Tammany, there was a reduction in the majorities which gave cause for thought. The falling off was universally attributed to Judge Maynard's name on the ticket; yet he had always borne an irreproachable character, and in the opinion of his friends, in the matter charged against him, on this occasion, he had only acted on the principle of accomplishing an act of practical justice by the use of all the means which a fortunate opportunity placed in his way.

The affair which caused his defeat has passed into history under the name of "the Mylod returns," these being the election returns from Dutchess County in 1890. In counting the ballots on this occasion it was found that a certain number of votes cast for the Republican candidate bore certain private marks, which could be easily identified; these, in the first count, were legally and properly rejected and thrown out. The political friends of the losing candidate commenced a contest for their restoration, and applied to the courts to effect such restoration; then followed a long series of law proceedings, "stays," "mandamuses," "injunctions," and all the devices known to the law to make the worse appear the better cause, on the one side to secure the recognition of the legality of the original returns, on the other to enforce the counting of the marked ballots. During this contest, by the delay of a mail delivery, Judge Maynard, who was acting at the time as counsel to the original board, had the opportunity, and availed himself of it, to present the original and correct returns to the State Board of Canvassers, and with this, undisputed before them, the Democratic candidate

(Osborne) was declared duly elected to the Senate, as he had been in fact. The accusation against Maynard was that he had acted in defiance of certain legal injunctions, which he, as good a lawyer as any of his accusers, claimed were illegally issued; but the rage and disappointment of the Republicans, who had thus lost a Senator, was unappeasable, and knew no bounds. Even some members of the Bar Association met together and formally condemned the position taken by Judge Maynard. So much excitement was there that eventually the Legislature ordered an inquiry, and a joint committee of both houses was appointed, but it soon dropped the whole business; sending in, however, a majority and minority report. The Legislature adopted the majority report, which practically exonerated Maynard; and Governor Flower soon after reappointed him to the honorable office of Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals; but this nomination was not sustained in the ensuing election, to which Maynard appealed for vindication.

The lesson of all which is that the people demand that their judges shall not only be of the purest integrity, but that it shall be of such a grade and quality as to be beyond question, even by their enemies. The writer has seen many political campaigns, but never one in which such vicious virulence was indulged in against a candidate of long established good reputation as that which pursued Judge Maynard. At the same time, it must be admitted that his defense, by his party, was very weakly conducted. The Judge died in Albany in June, 1896.

Though the Democrats had carried the city, the State had gone Republican. Some of the causes of this defeat were sufficiently obvious, but leading them all was the "bad times," which conjunction of ideas and facts is explained by the common experience, that there is to be found in all communities a large number of persons who habitually hold the government responsible for business conditions, and the times were hard. The President was a Democrat. Hence, in the logic of many voters, it must improve matters to change party control. Added to this sort of reasoning, was some resentment against the President for certain appointments which were distasteful to the many of both parties, particularly that of a wealthy gentleman of Rhode Island, who was most widely known as a large subscriber to the election fund; then, also, Mr. Cleveland's attitude towards Hawaiian affairs, and his semi-support of the dethroned queen was displeasing to others. Still more potent was the disappointment over the failure to secure satisfactory changes in the tariff. The changes made not being radical, it was charged that such as were made were simply disturbing business, though, as the Democrats were not at this time a majority in Congress, they could not properly be held responsible for this. Other minor causes added to the feeling of desire for a change. The hard times being at the base of all. The Democratic victory of 1892 had turned largely on the question of tariff reform, and the reform had not materialized. But Tammany was not seriously discouraged. It never is. Since its leading object is to maintain the great cause of human rights, it is ever assured that it must and will prevail in the end, whatever delays or obstructions temporarily intervene. As a means to a desired end, a special effort was made this year to increase the number of local Tammany clubs, and towards the end of the year, during the latter part of December, an innovation was planned for introducing into the organization of the Assembly districts a material change.

The criticism had often been made that the government of Tammany Hall was wholly composed of place-holders, professional politicians. To meet this

objection, though it was not founded on fact, Mr. Croker conceived the idea of connecting with the local leadership a body of men specially selected for their business qualities, and their social status as business men, believing that such might be valuable aids to the usual leaders and would also add prestige to the party in the eyes of the general public. This plan was announced as experimental only, and not necessarily a permanency. Few of the existing leaders were enthusiastic on the suggested change, but no serious opposition was made, and the arrangement went into effect, working well in some districts, but in others producing complications; most of the business men themselves eventually withdrawing from the arrangement.

At the late election delegates had been chosen to the Constitutional Convention. Among the Tammany men thus honored we find such names as William C. Whitney, John Bigelow, De Lancey Nicoll, Nelson J. Waterbury, Gideon J. Tucker, Charles H. Truax, Andrew H. Green and others of equal standing and intelligence.

Very shortly after the result of the election was officially made known, a systematic and combined effort was made, by the opposition, to unite all parties, great and small, antagonistic to Tammany. What might be called the formal inauguration of this movement took place at a meeting on November 21st, at the Union Square Hotel. At this time and place the various malcontents assembled, and one obscure person offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of ten be appointed by the Chairman to arange for a public mass meeting for a union of all anti-Tammany forces in New York.

No expression of principles, political or otherwise, was offered, or apparently expected, thus illustrating the general and habitual attitude of opponents to the Tammany Hall organization, who, as a rule, have no other end in view than to secure the patronage naturally inherent in the administration of a large municipality. About the same time a remnant of the old County Democracy met, with similar purposes, in the Twelfth District, and one in the Seventh, calling themselves the Citizen's Democracy. Other associations of great prestige were soon to follow. The association of the State Democracy was largely composed, at first, of the old anti-Snappers, of which faction Charles S. Fairchild was the leader. Just at the same time Senator Hill was bravely fighting the Federal Election bill, and Tammany was busy striving to alleviate the distress of the unemployed poor in the City of New York, by raising large sums of money in all the Assembly districts, furnishing fuel and food to thousands thrown out of work by the general stagnation of business.

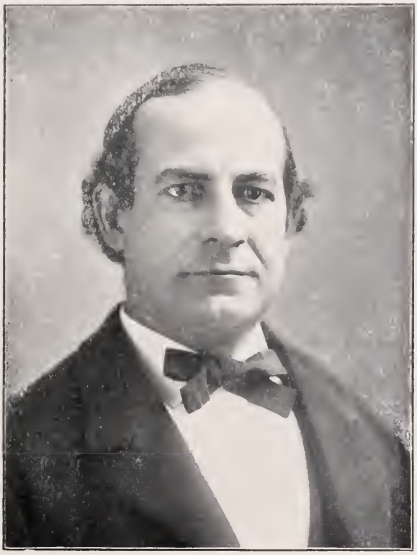
CHAPTER LIII.

RATIFICATION OF NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE celebration of Tammany's great day, the Fourth of July, was not so brilliant as usual, on account of the absence of many of the leading men who had gone to the National Democratic Convention, which was to meet in Chicago on the 6th; though the gathering was interesting and enthusiastic, for, fortunately, the assembled patriots had not the prevision to see the perplexing effect which the nomination for President, made by the convention, would produce. Of course, there were individual sympathizers with the silver Bryanites, but to Tammany, as an organization, the ticket nominated at Chicago fell like a wet blanket, and for a time produced almost a sense of stupefaction among the most intelligent members of the Democratic party in New York city. The question of officially accepting the candidate and the platform was a very serious one; but it had to be met. Quite a number, like ex-Governor Flower, Senator Hill, Comptroller Ashbel P. Fitch, the veteran Tammanyite, General Sickles, ex-Mayor Hugh Grant, and scores of others, openly and promptly repudiated both the candidate, Mr. Bryan, and certain principles enunciated in the platform, on the ground that neither represented true Democracy; yet—there was the one Democratic principle which could not be absolutely ignored, that the majority should rule, and the Chicago convention represented, through its delegates, the will of the party. However, distasteful, Tammany decided that to retain the prestige of regularity, it would be necessary to formally accept the situation and make the best of it.

Not only in the city, but throughout the State, the condition was a complicated and very trying one, to those of the party who regarded the action of the convention as undemocratic. To the more independent members of Tammany a bolt and practical protest seemed the right thing to do; hence the organization of the Sound Money party, who put an independent ticket in the field, with Palmer and Buckner, for President and Vice-President, as their nominees; not hoping, indeed, to win, but as a rebuke to the Democracy of the West, which had controlled the convention.

It was decided to hold the public ratification meeting at Madison Square Garden on the 12th of August; and, although the heat was intense, an immense crowd assembled to greet Mr. Bryan. There had been a marked degree of curiosity to see this new style of Democrat from the West, and it was asserted by old New Yorkers that a large portion of the audience were non-habitues at Democratic meetings, but was largely made up of the floating population, who had not been able to leave the torrid streets and escape to the country. However, this may have been, Mr. Bryan received such a cordial reception as must have given him the impression that his friends were largely in the ascendant, his speech being frequently punctuated with hearty and apparently sincere applause; though it was long enough and serious enough to have wearied any common audience on a less torrid night. As his arguments have been so widely published, there is no object in repeating them here.



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

About a month later the Democratic State Convention met at Buffalo. Its main business was to endorse the national ticket, which it did, and to nominate State officers, including a Governor. Senator Hill's favorite candidate for this office was John Boyd Thatcher, and for Lieutenant-Governor, Isaac S. Catlin, of Kings County, a man who had now, but never previously, bolted a National ticket. The silver men were much chagrined to perceive the influence exerted by the General's attitude, while Mr. John C. Sheehan branded all sound money men as traitors. On this occasion the Hon. D. Cady Herrick, of the Appellate Court, took a prominent part. The nominee finally selected was Wilber F. Porter, of Watertown. The opposing candidate was Mr. Black, who, in the ensuing November, was elected.

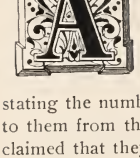
The campaign was not very exhilirating to Tammany, on account of the falling off of funds; so many of the business people who had been accustomed to subscribe liberally became timid over the situation, fearing financial disturbance, in case of the success of Mr. Bryan. This feeling was greatly strengthened by the daily reports of prominent Democrats having joined the gold monometallists, the opposition papers taking particular care to publish such lists as campaign weapons. After the election was over, it was estimated that 40,000 Democrats voted against Bryan.

The representation of Tammany men at the convention had been small (only 208) as compared with previous occasions, as for instance, in 1892, 1,200 attended. Mr. Croker was not present when Mr. Bryan was nominated; Mr. Sulzer spoke for the Tammany delegation supporting the motion, and, as the unit rule prevailed, the rest of the delegation was forced to take the same attitude, though, personally, so many were dissatisfied with the result. At a conference with the district leaders, held on July 21st, Mr. Sheehan, as acting leader of Tammany Hall, advised that it was best to ratify the nomination of William J. Bryan. His views being accepted, there was no object in delaying the public ratification, and it was decided to issue a call for meetings of the Executive and General Committees; but Justice Frederick Smyth, who was at this time Grand Sachem, declared that he could not vote for Bryan—yet neither would he vote for the Republican candidate, Mr. McKinley.

Some members of Tammany took the stand that the organization should not put up any National electoral ticket, but limit themselves to a State ticket. This position was taken by ex-Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, but the question of official recognition, as the Democratic party of New York, overbalanced this idea. Finally, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, it was voted, by 70 to 4, to indorse Bryan; but it was well known that the feeling was not nearly so unanimous as the vote. "'Stand by the majority,' is the rule," said Mr. Purroy, though he believed in the monetary standard recognized by all the great commercial nations of the earth, and he added, "though the prevalent Democracy has wandered into error, it is far better constituted to act as the great agent for the preservation of the sovereignty of the people, far better entitled to my support than can ever be its irreconcilable enemy, the Republican party, that organization of monopolies and trusts." This argument was good doctrine, but the speaker's subsequent action effectually nullified his speech.

CHAPTER LIV.

ADVENT OF THE "REFORMERS."



S was anticipated by those who knew the recuperative power of Tammany, that organization rapidly recovered from the depressing effect of the defeat of the party in the last State election. One of the amusing displays of "reform" claims to strength and influence was the ridiculously high figures which each and all of these factions put forth by grossly misstating the number of votes they controlled, and the consequent recognition due to them from the victorious party. As, for instance, the State Democracy had claimed that they were absolutely sure of 50,000 votes; the Independent County Organization put their help at 40,000; the German-American Reform had set theirs at 75,000; the Anti-Tammany Democracy at another 40,000. These alone covered more than the total vote of the opposition; yet where was the vote of the redoubtable "Seventy?" Where that of the Good Government Clubs? and all the other brood akin to them, including the much larger body of the regular Republican machine adherents? Some of the foes of Tammany, who had boasted loudly of their power and numbers before election, made such a poor showing on election day as to be simply ridiculous.

But to the new Mayor these independents of all sorts and sizes became a serious annoyance, each and all clamoring for their share of the spoils, while Tammany proceeded peacefully and quietly in its regular course, merely changing its committees, so far as was required by the re-districting, in accordance with the new Constitution adopted at the late election. Biding their time, in the full faith of a certain and not distant return to power.

At the first meeting of the General Committee it was decided that an address to the people should be prepared thanking the 109,000 men who had voted the Tammany ticket—this, perhaps, just to let their late opponents know that they were neither dead nor sleeping. In regard to the reorganization, it was decided, at a meeting in February, that to make it thoroughly efficient, it must be effected by the Sachems of the Tammany Society, as distinguished from the political organization, as these really commission the active leaders of that body, and, in aid of this measure, it was decided to elect new members to the Board of Sachems. A committee of five was authorized to nominate. The men nominated by this committee proved conclusively that Mr. Croker's influence was still potent, as the friends of the old chieftain were largely in the majority of those selected. In fact, there was not one who could be considered inimical to his leadership. Frederick Smyth was chosen Grand Sachem; Charles Welde, Father of the Council, and Maurice Holahan as Scribe.

As the original Indian chief, Tammany, was called, in his old age, "the Chief of many days," so the Society which still honors his memory, may truthfully be called the Society of many days; for it has outlived all other political organizations ever formed in the United States; and, from its very nature and constitution, will

continue to live long after its present opponents, of whatever name, are moribund, dead, or transmigrated into new forms of existence, as has been the fate of all the preceding forms of opposition. Where now are the old Federalists; the Whigs; the anti-Masons; the Know-Nothings; the Free Soilers; the Citizens' Union and all their kin? The Republican party, at the present moment, wearing out the loyalty of their best friends by endeavoring to conceal, rather than repudiate, the wrongdoers in the party? This feature of permanence is annually emphasized by Tammany's unremitting recognition of the 4th of July.

To show the disinterestedness of the professional reformers, it is instructive to note that Recorder Goff, the principal "Lexow" lawyer, had scarcely got seated in the Recorder's chair than he had the audacity and the greed to demand the patronage of four judges all for himself, and, without any reasonable pretext, asked for a large increase of salary. After the experience furnished by the latter-day purifiers of politics, not a few Democrats were tempted to apply the same verdict to the average professional "reformer." Mayor Strong, the so-called non-partisan Mayor, appointed, in May, the following members of the new Bi-Partisan Police Board: Theodore Roosevelt, Fred. D. Grant and Andrew D. Parker. Police Commissioner Andrews nominated Roosevelt as President of the Board, an office which he subsequently filled in such an arbitrary and unreasoning manner that he did much to hasten the return of Tammany to power in the city.

The most striking change in city life, after the advent of Mayor Strong and Police Commissioner Roosevelt, was the enormous increase of crime in the form of burglary. At first this epidemic was simply wondered at, or feared by the timid, but the reason for it soon became apparent; the policemen, instead of patrolling their beats, as formerly, were largely engaged in watching saloons, especially on Sundays. Not only that, but spying upon small shopkeepers, to see if they sold a loaf of bread, a sheet of letter paper, five cents' worth of milk or of ice. Thus burglars had plenty of time to plan and carry out their schemes without danger of discovery or interruption by the new police. Violent crimes of all kinds became alarmingly prevalent. This condition of things was so fully recognized that it even affected the city's credit. A three per cent. loan for only $2,256,371, absolutely failed and was withdrawn, though, only a few years previously, a bond for $9,000,000 was readily taken up, when issued by a Tammany civic administration. In fact, the whole reform movement was rapidly proving itself a dead failure, because the leaders did not know how to proceed on a line with the general sentiment of the community, with which, in fact, they had no sympathy.

The newly ordained Blanket Ballot, by some called the Raines ballot, requiring long and patient study, perplexing even to the most intelligent, was sprung upon the long-suffering voters this year. The object of its framers seemed to be to repel from the ballot-box the poorer class of voters, who had little time to spare from their daily avocations in which to study out its complications; but, as usual, its framers failed to reckon on the resources of the Tammany leaders, who opened special night schools of instruction, in which they familiarized the men of little leisure how to safely deal with its intricacies. To begin with, there was, this year, on one sheet, nine party emblems, with the nominations of each of these parties to be selected from, according to the judgment or wishes of the voter. The

straight Republican ticket had for its emblem an Eagle; the regular Democratic was a Star; the Democratic Reform was a Ship; the Prohibition a Fountain; the Socialist Labor party an upraised Arm with Hammer; the People's party (what they wanted it was hard to find out) a Trefoil; Independent Citizens, a Sunrise; Citizens' Independent, a Horseshoe; Ninth Senatorial Independent Republican, a figure of Justice. Was not this medley enough to discourage any but the most determined voter from attempting to venture within the voting-booth, watched, perhaps, by some personal enemy, or, at least, an enemy to the voter's party?

During the summer, while Mr. Croker was absent, what was called by the profane "the Steering Committee" of Tammany Hall consisted of Messrs. James J. Martin, Lawrence Delmour, George W. Plunkitt and the late Augustus W. Peters. The organization had been so constantly annoyed by claims for official recognition by small factional parties that Tammany was now seriously considering the question of seeking a change in the ballot laws, by which the number required for recognition should be raised from 3,000 signatures to 10,000. This latter number would certainly have put the State Democracy, the Stecklers and others, *hors du combat*.

The State Convention met at Syracuse, on September 23d. Senator Hill, who was in the lead at this time, was favorably inclined to the admission of most of the small factions, feeling that no offered addition of strength should be rejected. Perry Belmont was made temporary chairman and Roswell P. Flower permanent chairman. The majority organization, Tammany, obtained the use of the party emblem for their local ticket; the State Democracy, as also the Shephard Democracy of Brooklyn, was allowed but a one-third representation. As usual, the country counties exhibited their chronic jealousy of Tammany, and strove to curtail its influence. Mr. Belmont, speaking on the Excise question, condemned the State law, which allowed to country towns local option, but denied to the great City of New York one of the essential elements of Home Rule. The Puritanic Sunday laws and the "Raine's restaurant sandwich" came in for a good share of satirical denunciation.

The offer of one-fifth of a vote to the State Democracy, while four-fifths was given to Tammany, excited strong indignation among the delegates of the former, who finally withdrew from the convention. Some additional contention arose over the admission of the followers of ex-Mayor Grace, when Mr. Thomas F. Grady remarked that the combined votes of all the opponents of Tammany was less than one-fifth of the total Democratic vote. The Grace men thereupon left—in no amiable mood. After nominating a State ticket, the chief speeches made were directed against sumptuary laws being forced upon the city by non-resident legislators, who knew nothing and cared less for its needs, but never forgetting to exact a high rate of State taxation. Senator Hill, in his speech on this occasion, coinciding in the views expressed above, added some remarks in favor of bi-metallism.

Of city control from Albany the sentiment expressed by Mr. Belmont was the prevailing spirit of the Tammany delegates, as he had on a previous occasion declared: "Under the existing system stability of city government is impossible; our cities have no real autonomy; local self-government is a misnomer. All the evils of our city government arise from the following causes: First: Excessive

Albany legislation. Second: Failure to enact general laws granting larger power to cities. Third: Absence of accurate information at Albany in respect to cities. Home rule is the only solution."

The platform adopted embraced, in substance, the following principles and policy:

A Strong stand for Home Rule—no legislative meddling with purely local affairs.

Economy in public expenses—a strict audit of expenditure; a low tax rate.

Honesty in public office—no corrupt traffic in legislation.

Equal enforcement of all the laws; an orderly Sunday; modification or repeal of laws unsupported by public opinion; local option on Excise matters; no blue laws.

Equal taxation; no partial legislation; individual liberty.

Honest elections; official accounting of expenditures.

Practical and honest reform in Civil Service; intelligent and liberal promotion of agriculture; improved highways throughout the State.

Needed legislation for laborers.

Federal taxation for revenue only; no Government partnership with protected monopolies.

Sound money—gold and silver legal tender; gradual retirement of greenbacks.

Strict construction of the Federal Constitution; No Force bills.

This platform was unanimously adopted. Mr. Sulzer offered a resolution of sympathy with the Cuban patriots, which was received with cheers. The nominations having been completed, the convention adjourned *sine die*.

As a result of earnest Democratic effort, with an increasing dissatisfaction with Republican management, the former party made a clean sweep in the city at the ensuing November elections, the Tammany nominees being elected by a majority of 37,800, carrying in every one of its candidates for city and county offices, with some State and legislative; namely, three Justices of the Supreme Court, two Judges of the Court of General Sessions, the three Justices of the City Court, their nominee for Congress, and twenty-six out of the thirty-five Assemblymen, a grand gain over the results of the struggle the previous year. But the people had not then suffered a year of Republican tyranny and misrule. It was at this election that the people voted the appropriation of $9,000,000 for the enlargement and improvement of the Erie Canal, which, later, under the administration of Governor Black, was officially charged by a State Investigating Committee with fraud, dishonesty and waste in the expenditure. So clearly were the facts established as greatly to injure the Republican campaign of 1898.

CHAPTER LV.

TESTIMONIAL TO RICHARD CROKER.



NE of the most interesting social events concerning the Tammany magnates, in recent years, took place at the Hotel Savoy on February 8th. This was an entertainment given in honor of Mr. Croker. There were one hundred and fifty guests present at the dinner, which was very elaborate, and was not concluded until 10 P. M., when Mr. John C. Sheehan, after a neat speech of welcome, called upon Senator Grady to respond to the first toast, "Our Guest, Richard Croker." Mr. Grady's reputation for timely oratory makes it unnecessary to introduce his discriminating eulogy of the guest of the evening here. He concluded by saying: "We do not want this dinner to become simply a memory; therefore, we have provided a more substantial testimonial, which will, in after years, testify to you (turning to Mr. Croker) and to your descendants our hearty affection." Here Mr. Grady presented a beautiful and costly Loving Cup, which had been subscribed for by friends present.

Mr. Croker, responding, said: "This magnificent testimonial of your friendship I accept, being conscious of the sincerity of the sentiment which occasions your assemblage here to-night. I always attributed the success of the organization with which we have been so long identified not to my individual endeavor, but to your loyalty and truth, and to the unity and cohesion which marked your efforts to promote the prosperity and glory of Tammany Hall, and of the masses who were faithful to the doctrines of true Democracy. Now, let me persuade and entreat you to a continuance of that cohesion, that truth, that loyalty, and that unity among yourselves, at all times and under all circumstances." After some farther remarks, Mr. Croker closed his brief address amid loud applause and hearty cheers. Other interesting addresses were made, the banquet not closing until a late, or, more correctly speaking, an early hour of the next day.

The Loving Cup presented to Mr. Croker is of silver, of a capacity of two gallons. It was designed and made by Tiffany. Its cost was $2,000. Mr. Croker sailed for England shortly after this pleasant testimonial to the esteem in which he is held by his personal friends and political confrères. One of Mr. Croker's sententious sayings about this time was, "That Reform needs Reformation," and another, "The bossism of the newspapers is more dangerous than the political—the one can be removed, the other cannot."

CHAPTER LVI.

CONSOLIDATION.



HE question of consolidation was beginning to attract more attention as the season advanced. The Tammany people were by no means a unit on this subject. Mr. Sulzer, for instance, was a strong advocate for it, while Mr. John C. Sheehan, in May, publicly praised the twenty-five Assemblymen who had voted against that measure. The populous City of Brooklyn had sent up to Albany a protest against it, but Governor Morton paid no attention to it. The history of this movement was rather peculiar, from the fact that from its initiation its friends were incessantly active, while those who were opposed to it were absolutely apathetic, not appearing to realize that, if not desired, it was something to be vigorously fought; and it was not until after the vote upon it had been taken that they awakened to the necessity of action, which was then too late to have any staying power.

When this bill was finally passed in the Assembly, in April—the Senate had always been strongly in favor of it—and it was submitted to the mayors of the interested cities for their approval or otherwise; both the Mayor of New York and that of Brooklyn vetoed it; but the minor and less important towns and cities outnumbered these two, and won the victory. The bill united under one city government the old City of New York; Kings County, including the City of Brooklyn; Richmond County (Staten Island); Long Island City; the towns of Newtown, Flushing and Jamaica; and a part of the Township of Hempstead. A commission was appointed to prepare a charter for this combined territory. This commission was composed of Mr. Andrew H. Green, Mr. Strong, Mayor of New York; Mr. Wurster, Mayor of Brooklyn; Mayor Gleason, of Long Island City; the State Engineer and Surveyor, C. W. Adams; the Attorney-General, Theodore E. Hancock; and nine other persons, to be selected by the Governor. These were required to make their final report on or before February 1st, 1897. This Commission was empowered to employ a clerical staff, to subpoena witnesses, to compel the production of public records, or municipal documents, and to administer oaths.

The two men who practically prepared the charter were the Hon. William C. De Witt, of Brooklyn, and Mr. David Dean, of New York, for many years connected with the Corporation Counsel's office in that city. Mr. Dean's continuous labor on the charter was the proximate cause of his death. To meet the necessary expense, the sum of $25,000 was assigned to be raised by the cities of New York and Brooklyn in proportion to each city's valuation of its real estate. The last section of the bill provides that the consolidation " shall take effect on the first of January ,1898." This bill had been repassed by the Assembly in April, over the vetoes of Messrs. Strong and Wurster, by a vote of 78 to 69. As it was known

that the consolidation of the cities was originally a Republican project, devised for the purpose and with the expectation of overcoming the power of Tammany Hall, and that most of the commissioners appointed for the preparation of the charter were of that mind, the exact nature of that instrument naturally became a subject of much interest, and not a little distrust, although the integrity and ability of its leading framers was not questioned; yet it was certain that several of these were accustomed to look at all matters of a polilitical nature from a different standpoint from that of the Tammany magnates. A reform mayor, in a neighboring city, had just drawn much criticism upon himself by his published expression of his personal views as to "How to Govern a Great City," on account of the vivid contrast which existed between the conditions of the city, unfortunately, under his rule, and the exalted views professed.

In New York itself, the city, under a "reform mayor," was simply an object lesson of discouragement. Probably meaning honestly to begin with, but sadly incompetent, from lack of experience—Mr. Strong was not a politician, but a bank President—his administration was marked with favoritism in appointments, free plunging into showy and unnecessary expenses; with a Police Department quarrelling among themselves; the head of another commission driving about the city in a gaudy brougham, with driver and attendants in livery; a Building Superintendant and Dock Commissioners under reproof of the Corporation Counsel; a Street Commissioner, working under such a negligent system of payments as eventually to cost the city many thousands of dollars in the payment for work which was never done; not to repeat, here, the tyrannical application of laws which had wearied the people and made the very word "reform" a subject of ridicule. It was no wonder that the practical working of the new charter was looked upon with considerable doubt, if not actual distrust.

The much discussed Raine's bill was signed by Governor Morton in the latter part of March. As Comptroller Fitch had already warned the Governor, so it proved, when put into operation. Mr. Fitch was a man of long experience in municipal matters. In the protest which he sent to Albany, he said: "I have never known so universal condemnation of any bill among all parties, and all classes of citizens, as exists in this city toward this unjust measure." The grounds of its unpopularity were numerous, but the fundamental wrong was its audacious invasion of the principle of Home Rule. Mr. J. C. Sheehan, acting leader of Tammany Hall, in discussing this subject, said: "A meeting should be called in every Assembly district, under the auspices of our organization, to denounce the Republican party for imposing such an iniquitous measure on the people of this State. It robs the charitable institutions of the city of over $500,000 annually. It robs the city of over one-third of its just tax, and gives this money to the interior counties of the State. It permits the opening of dives of all kinds, while closing the decent, quiet German beer saloons, and prohibiting restaurants from furnishing wine or beer with meals on Sunday. It will deprive of employment at least 50,000 workmen, hop-growers, hop-pickers—both men and women; saloonkeepers, cigar manufacturers, butchers, bakers and other industries. It injures real estate owners by closing a great number of stores, dependent on early Sunday morning trade. It opens the door to the most gigantic political blackmailing machine ever imposed upon a law-abiding community."

Another leading Tammany member added: "It is a measure deliberately planned with the clear intention of placing almost arbitrary power in the hands of favored Republicans."

Commissioner George C. Clausen said: "It is a direct attack upon personal liberty; the most intolerant and aggressive measure the Republican party has ever dared to thrust upon the people. It will work great injury to the City of New York, and is certain to lead to widespread corruption, by putting the power of unlimited discrimination in the hands of partisans."

The official opinion of Corporation Counsel Scott, of New York city, "that certain provisions of this bill were to go into effect immediately," hurried the action of Chief Conlin, of the Police Department, in prohibiting free lunches, and in ordering bars to be exposed to view from the street; also inhibiting the sale of liquor to any under eighteen years of age. The police force were also informed that they might make summary arrests. These rules, however, did not apply to private clubs. Thus the rich were favored and allowed to do as they pleased.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE VICTORY OF 1897.



NE of the unprecedented features of the campaign of 1897 was the fact that every newspaper in the City of New York with the exception of four, and those not of the largest circulation, worked against the Tammany ticket, using, instead of argument, unrestrained abuse. Misstatements and tricks of all kinds, were resorted to by the combined opposition, with the mortifying result to them that the Tammany nominee for Mayor was elected by the large vote of 228,686, being a plurality of over 80,000 over his strongest opponent, Seth Low, the nominee of the Citizens' party; which shows that, whatever influence the papers have, they cannot crush the people's sense of right by the use of invective, against that of natural feeling of self-protection which can discern an enemy under the disguise of fine words, fair promises, or even threats of disaster, when experience has shown that these are false. To use the words of the great Lincoln, "You cannot fool all the people all the time." The leading papers, boasting of their immense circulation, fell powerless before the discrimination of the great majority, which does think for itself, at least when its personal interests are interfered with by demagogues, under false pretences, however much they may be depreciated by those who claim to have all the virtue and all the intelligence.

Self-congratulation before election had been so prevalent among the Seth Low party, who felt assured of victory, that the disappointment was most cruelly felt. A specimen of this confidence was presented by an act of the well-known lawyer, Joseph H. Choate (now Ambassador in England), who, a few days before election, and after prophesying the certain victory of Mr. Low, asked the popular Episcopal clergyman, Dr. Rainsford, to preach the very best sermon he could on the next Sunday from the text, "Beware of false Prophets," meaning, of course, the Democratic leaders. When the election returns came in, less than a week later, there was no escaping the conclusion that Mr. Choate himself was an illustrious example of the denunciation of the text.

With the Mayoralty candidate, Robert A. Van Wyck, the whole Democratic ticket was successful, not a single Republican being elected in New York city, and only four in the Borough of Brooklyn. In the State the Democratic majority was some 65,000. Certainly one reason for this signal victory was the unexceptional character of the nominees; not the most fastidious of carpers could find any personal ground of objection to any name on the ticket. Ex-Justice Robert A. Van Wyck is a native of New York city, of Holland stock, educated to the profession of Law, and elected to the bench of the City Court in 1889. His decisions have been almost invariably sustained by the Appellate Courts. He had long been a consistent Democrat. When we remember that the consolidation movement was a Republican project, with the declared hope of destroying Tammany, the test result was, indeed, legitimate cause for extraordinary rejoicing by the Democracy of the great city.

The habitual calumny in which the opponents of Tammany indulge has seldom had any serious result, and certainly no permanent effect on the organization itself, because intelligent voters know that most of the accusations are absolutely false or wild exaggerations. Of course, like all human institutions, it is subject to mistakes or temporary errors of policy, but, in the general honesty of purpose to do well for the city, it compares more than favorably with its perennial accusers.

Though this continuous and vicious misrepresentation rarely does damage to its specific object, it does great damage in another direction. It injures the fair fame of the metropolis of the country. It is treason to all the dwellers in the city. Every New Yorker is lowered in the estimation of foreigners. It must be so, when Europeans are led to believe that they willingly choose to live under an organization which is utterly corrupt, and have done so for over a hundred years! And what is the motive of these slanderers of the leading city of the nation? Simply to get control themselves of the municipal government, with the patronage it implies; and for this they are willing to blacken the character of the majority of their own townsmen. English and other foreign editors cannot conceive of such turpitude in what pass for respectable American papers, and conclude that the charges must be true; so they join in the chorus of abuse, and add their little mite to the defamation of the metropolis. Every American's moral status abroad is thus wilfully lowered by these conscienceless slanderers of Tammany.

List of National Parties which Tammany has Outlived.

Federals—Represented by George Washington and John Adams	1789-1796
Coalition—John Q. Adams	1824
National-Republican—Henry Clay	1828-1832
Anti-Masonic—William Wirt	1832
Whig—General William H. Harrison	1840
Liberty Party—James G. Birney	1844
Free-Soil—M. Van Buren	1848
Free Democratic—John P. Hale	1852
Whig—Winfield Scott	1852
Native American—Millard Fillmore	1856
Republican—John C. Fremont	1856
Conservative Union—John Bell	1860
Independent Democrat—S. A. Douglas	1860
Single Tax—Henry George	

The crop of local opponents now *hors du combat* are very numerous; most of them will be found named in a later chapter.

Fiat Justitia ruat Coelum.

"Let Justice be done, though the Heavens fall." This appears to have been the controlling spirit in which Mayor Robert A. Van Wyck entered upon his new duties, which he had officially accepted in a speech of little more than a single sentence. In reply to Mayor Strong's address of welcome, holding out his hand to the retiring Mayor, he simply said: "I accepted this office at the hands of the people, and to them will I answer." The only preceding speech which he uttered, during the campaign, was almost equally brief, and was addressed to the members of the committee which announced to him his election, and was as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Tammany Hall Executive Committee, I thank you all kindly for the work you did for me on election day, and I hope that I may prove as successful an executive as I was as a candidate." But, though so brief of speech, the new Mayor spoke quickly enough by his actions, reminding one of Shakespeare's "Cordelia," who says: "What I well intend I'll do't before I speak." His views upon municipal expenditures he summarized thus: "Increased expenditures must be guarded against wherever possible, without interfering with natural growth and progress." He believed in attending to one thing at a time. "It is," he remarked, "a waste of energy to preoccupy the mind unnecessarily; wait till a matter actually comes up for decision; you cannot do justice to what is before you, if you are worrying about future contingencies." Again: "I want men about me who will confine themselves to the duties of the office they fill." He also recognized the necessity of physical health to properly perform mental work. Hence, he refused to be hurried, realizing that time was needed to get all the elements thus suddenly thrust together into smoothly running order. It was not an easy matter in all cases to fix the interpretation of the language of the charter.

The Civil Service Commissioners, for instance, at a meeting held in December, indorsed the action of the old New York Board, which declared of the charter "that where any Board or Department was legislated out of power under the new charter, its employees, without further examination, should stand at the head of the eligible list for promotion, in any similar department created under the new municipal government." This, of course, proved very embarrassing to the new administration. The new Civil Service Commissioners, however, took an opposite view. Messrs. Knox, Dyckman and Deyo thought Governor Black's civil service rules became inoperative under the charter. The practical question was, "Can the State Board control New York city?" The charter, having provided that "All Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with it, are to be regarded as repealed," the latter would appear to have been the true solution.

Many other difficulties were encountered on the inauguration of the new government of the consolidated city, but none occasioned so much perplexity, annoyance and disappointment as the condition of the finances, all the annexed boroughs having so managed, late in the preceding year, to involve their several sections deeply in debt, with the expectation that these local claims would be met and paid by the greater city. It was an exasperating condition which confronted the new Mayor, and drew forth from his closely guarded lips, referring to the largest of these boroughs, the expression that "it had left him a legacy of fraud," in that the annexed borough had recklessly expended large sums of money for which no satisfactory returns were visible, and had contracted heavy debts with the expectation of foisting the payment upon the consolidated city. As the most serious of these maladministrations had occurred in the large Borough of Brooklyn under a semi-Reform Republican Mayor, the object lesson of its exposure tended greatly to the removal of prejudice against the coming Democratic regéme in the greater city.

CHAPTER LVIII.

SOME TAMMANY MEN—SOME TAMMANY INCIDENTS.

A BILL had been introduced into the House, in the spring of 1890, for the construction of six new naval vessels, but the Senate, in its false economy, had cut down the number to four, and when the bill was under reconsideration, in the House, a member had suggested the adoption of the Senate's amendment. If Mr. Cummings had foreseen the war of 1898 he could not have contended more vigorously or intelligently for the expansion of the Navy, which all can now see was our main strength and reliance against Spain, and that with a less forcible Navy than we had the war might have lasted for years. Mr. Cummings was Chairman of the Naval Committee of the Fifty-third Congress, and had been an influential member of the same in previous years, and had always favored the most liberal appropriations for the increase and development of our naval strength.

Considering the honor which the Navy has, by its record of 1898, brought to the American nation, it is interesting to recall the fact that the Tammany representative in the Congress of 1896, Amos J. Cummings, was one of the most persistent statesmen that had on every opportunity which was offered, during the nine years that he had been in the House, urged upon Congress the crying need for the construction of more ships. Two years before the proclamation of the war against Spain, Mr. Cummings made two most earnest and eloquent speeches in favor of increasing the Navy, showing, by historical data, the absolute necessity for the better protection of our seaboard and especially the desirability for the United States to have the means of protecting its citizens abroad, and the ability to meet force with force, if circumstances should require it, on the sea.

Another eminently useful member of Tammany introduced a bill for the better lighting and general arrangements of the Forty-second street tunnel in New York, the previous dark condition of which had caused many serious and fatal accidents. Mr. William Sulzer, now Congressman (1900), is responsible for the Freedom-of-Worship law, (for all public institutions); the amended Mechanics' lien law; the Albany Capitol Appropriation law, intended to curb the wild expenditures heretofore indulged in on that perennial work; the amended law abolishing imprisonment for debt; the ten-hour law for labor; Woman's Reformatory law; the anti-Conspiracy law; the Constitutional Celebration law; a law for the establishment of the Aquarium in New York city, a valuable, instructive resort for the people; with many other laws of essential benefit to the community which, without his aid, would have failed.

When Mr. Croker returned from his long absence, toward the end of November, new life seemed to be infused into Tammany Hall, and it was decided that a general, but gradual and quiet, transformation must take place, weeding out the inefficient or useless leaders and members, displacing such of the former as had failed in their duties or manifested a lack of zeal; infusing new blood wherever needed. Mr. Croker fully recognized the faithful work done during

his absence, and was not discouraged by the result of the late election. He said: "In my opinion, Tammany Hall made a gallant fight against great odds. The really large vote polled on November 3d in this city may be taken as a presage of future success. Of next year's municipal control, I can only say I am confident of victory. As I take it, there is no intention to fight a Presidential campaign during only a municipal one. Next year all Democrats will be together for the common good." This expectation was founded on the belief that the silver question would then be eliminated from the contest.

The Presidential election being over, Tammany was free to commence its work for 1897. The next campaign would be far more vital to the interests of the city than the one just passed. The Federal election affected New Yorkers, simply as Democrats, equally with all other Democrats throughout the Union, neither more nor less, but the municipal election next in view was altogether of another character, and one with which the party outside of New York had no special interest, but which was of far more importance to Tammany than any which had preceded it during its whole existence; for, on this approaching election turned the control of the enlarged metropolis for four consecutive years, with possibilities of an indefinite extension.

It was well-known that the original project of consolidation of the neighboring towns and cities with old New York had been conceived in the Republican brain in the hope and firm expectation that it would thus be able to overcome the influence of Tammany; and some even imagined that it could thus actually destroy the indestructable. Ex-Governor Black, in speaking of the consolidation measure, evidently viewed it from a political and not a municipal standpoint. In January, 1897, he said: "The extent of its influence is not safe to predict. Conditions have arisen more than once in which an entire national policy has depended upon this State. When questions of such moment become thus dependent, the position of the City of New York is commanding and may be decisive. Every move upon this subject should result from the utmost caution and study." Does not this expression of opinion clearly indicate that Governor Black was thinking solely of national politics, rather than of the wellbeing of the community for which the charter was at that time being prepared? The clearer such intent was developed the more intense grew the feeling in Tammany circles that the city must be redeemed and secured for the Democracy.

At the Tammany Central Club, where Mr. Croker was present, early in January, he took occasion to state, anew, his position, which was: First, that he had not taken up a residence in England, which had been persistently asserted, but that his home was in New York, and always would be, but that he had definitely withdrawn from mere routine work in Tammany Hall, though he had lost none of his interest in its success. He next expressed himself in the belief that rotation in office was eminently desirable, with the full conviction that when a man had been in office three or four years he should resign, and make way for new men. This rotation, he added, keeps the blood in circulation, and excites the ambition of the younger men, and is an incitement to them to work for the party.

An amusing incident occurred about this time illustrative of the habit of many Republicans of using every opportunity to make a verbal thrust at Tammany, without any special reason for doing so. The event occurred at a social meeting of the Colonial Club, at which Stewart L. Woodford, our late Minister to

Spain, figured, which vividly recalls the *faux pas* made by General Jackson, as narrated in a previous chapter. On this later occasion General Woodford happened to be present at the club as a substitute speaker for General Tracy, and was so led to believe that the Colonial was a Republican club, and, in responding to the toast "Greater New York," he began a violent attack upon Tammany Hall, not apparently having observed the presence of ex-Mayor Gilroy, Colonel William L. Brown and other leading Democrats. Commencing his ill-timed tirade, he predicted, among other offensive remarks, that "the combined anti-Tammany forces would soon throttle Tammany Hall," etc., etc. Colonel Brown could endure no more, and rose to resent the attack. He got no farther than, "I denounce," when General Woodford, perceiving his blunder, hastily concluded his speech, and left the room, while Colonel Brown's friends did all they could to pacify him. The fact was that the Colonial Club was composed of gentlemen belonging to both political parties, and was wholly social in its nature. If this fact had been communicated to the General, in time, it would have saved him from a very mortifying discomfiture.

An incident of a different nature, though akin to this as an exponent of ignorant prejudice, happened in the County Clerk's office in New York. An elderly citizen entered to ask some ordinary question which the Deputy Clerk, Mr. Scully, courteously answered. On turning to go, the visitor happened to notice on the wall the sign, "Smoking prohibited here." "I am glad to see that notice," he remarked; "when those Tammany rascals held possession here they would have had that down in two minutes, but a citizen can get civilly treated here now," etc., etc. Just look round, and see the gentlemanly-looking clerks." "My good man," said Mr. Scully, "this office is in charge of gentlemen who are all connected with Tammany Hall." "What's that?" exclaimed the astounded citizen. "I say," repeated Mr. Scully, "that all the gentlemen at these desks are members of Tammany Hall." On comprehending which statement, the bewildered man, without another word, beat a masterly, if somewhat hasty, retreat. He, like thousands of others, had evidently formed his opinion from some of the vituperative Republican orators, or papers, without really knowing anything on which to form a just opinion.

At a meeting of the General Committee in January, 1897, one of the speakers, referring to the last election, in the exuberance of his faith, exclaimed: "Tammany Hall serves notice to-night on the ignorant and incompetent administration which now governs the city (the Strong and Roosevelt) that it has started a relentless warfare against the 'reform' cabal, which will not end till that cabal is exterminated root and branch, and New York city is redeemed from its domination. This ignorant set has made New York city ridiculous in the eyes of the world, presenting the picture of Hypocrisy arm in arm with the ghost of assumed Virtue; watching Hope die in the arms of official Incompetency." These words, extravagant though they might sound, under the circumstances, were destined to be redeemed at the polls within less than a twelvemonth of the time in which they were uttered. The only defection of any account at this time was the withdrawal of County Clerk Henry D. Purroy, who had been Chairman of the Committee on Organization. It was not considered remarkable that this self-centred person should bolt at any moment, as his proclivity that way had become chronic. His action had no observable ill results.

On the occasion of the celebration of the National Independence, this year, Hon. Amos J. Cummings gave the key-note to the general thought. He said: "It is time for a declaration of independence on the part of the people of the City of New York. Home Rule is what is wanted. The city to-day is simply a satrapy of the State. It recalls the situation of the colonies in 1776. The time for this new declaration of independence is the coming fall. The result of the election then will express the sentiment of the people. If they desire to continue to pay 64 per cent. of the State taxes on a one-fourth representation in the Legislature, they will not vote the Tammany ticket. A vote for the Tammany ticket is a declaration of independence on the part of every individual citizen, and the repudiation of bigotry, intolerance and dishonesty masquerading under the guise of reform."

Of course, the Republicans, and all monometallists, had been hoping that Tammany would fully adopt and support the 16 to 1 silver heresy; as this attitude would have given them the most effective weapon which they could have hoped for in the great battle; but, being disappointed in this they still endeavored to fix this stigma upon the party, not realizing that the people knew that the National campaign was really over, and that silver had nothing to do with the coming struggle. One of the clearest statements on this point was made by the able editor of the TAMMANY TIMES, in the issue of that paper of date May 15th, 1897. The article is too long for insertion here, but the following are the main points of the argument. He asks: "What has the national financial question to do with the local government of the City of Greater New York? The opponents of Tammany are trying to 'ring a dead issue into a live campaign.' What we want in this great city is Home Rule, pure and simple, in the true sense of the word. Under Tammany administration, taxes were lower; the Police Department more efficient; every one of the city departments was in better condition; all petty differences were not aired before a long-suffering public through sensational newspapers; but were promptly adjusted by the officers of the Tammany organization; and, under that control, how much better were the times than under this present 'reform' administration? Certainly, we had the misfortune, under the previous Democratic Mayor, to be assailed by a mass of howling Dervishes, calling themselves reformers. One Goff, having attained to a place of importance, becoming prominent through the Lexow investigation, displayed his skill at cross-examination by forcing a reluctant witness to confess that a *majority of the Republicans* holding office in the city were corrupt! This investigation cost the city many thousands of dollars. Yet there is worse corruption in all the reform city departments now (1897) than ever existed under Tammany. Even Mayor Strong complimented Tammany and its President of the Board of Police, by keeping the incumbent of that office six months under his own administration."

CHAPTER LIX.

IMPROVEMENTS IN NEW YORK CITY.

THAT no false economy but good management accounted for the better showing of Democratic rule it is well to remind our readers of a few facts of which indeed they can scarcely be ignorant, as that during the six years under consideration thirty-three capacious school-houses were built, and at the close of Mayor Gilroy's term of office fourteen additional schools and annexes were in process of erection. It was Democratic officials who inaugurated the great and much needed work of improving the water-front in the early months of 1889. Useless piers were removed; fifty-five substantial, fine piers were built, and twenty-three piers extended; nearly 20,000 feet of new bulkhead and crib work were completed, ready for use, greatly to the advantage and increase of commerce to this port. Contrast this with the record of the "reform" Dock Commissioners, who neither built nor extended a single pier.

In the matter of streets, from January 1st, 1889, to December 1st, 1894, 168 miles of new pavement were laid, and 250 miles relaid and repaired; and, before the close of the second Democratic Mayoralty, 107 miles of new water-mains had been laid, and the water supply of the city nearly doubled; and for the sanitary improvement of the city many miles of new sewers were not only laid, but carried far enough out from the ends of the new piers to ensure the contents being carried a safe distance from the shore. Among other valuable services rendered the community by Tammany, might be mentioned the erection of armories, court houses, viaducts, bridges, small parks and other improvements, so numerous that even the briefest mention of them would be tedious. In view of these facts, and many more of a similar nature which may be readily verified at the various departments by those desiring the truth, there does not seem much room for charges of misapplication of funds or wasteful extravagance.

The truth is that, with all the outcry about partisan politics, a body of men filling public offices, without an organized party behind them, are the most unsafe of municipal managers—not being responsible to any authority, and knowing the unstable tenure of their position, they are under the strongest temptation to make the most of their opportunity in grasping at the spoils; while, on the contrary, organized, permanent parties have always the future welfare of that party to consider, which acts as a wholesome check in causing the officeholder to reflect on the bearing any unfaithfulness on his part would have on the future success of his party and his own career.

Mr. Croker arrived from Europe the first week in September. During his absence rumors had been rife as to who would be the permanent leader of the organization, which appeared for two or three years to have been open to whoever was best able to fill the position; with a natural supposition that the man whom Mr. Croker had designated as his choice, when he resigned the Chairmanship of the Finance Committee, would hold the place permanently; while other

eminent members of the organization were more specially favored by their personal friends. All this mass of conjecture dropped away as if by magic when the veteran manager reappeared upon the scene. Within a very brief period, without any formality or public resumption of his old-time offices, he was practically recognized as the dominant mind, and just the man needed for the great struggle now within a few weeks of victory or defeat.

The great Democratic Convention, which was held in the Grand Central Palace this fall, was the first Tammany meeting which recognized Brooklyn leading Democrats as natural colaborers, Messrs. Bernard J. York and Almet F. Jenks, with others from that borough, being heartily welcomed to the platform. It was at this meeting that the name of Robert A. Van Wyck was first publicly mentioned as a fitting candidate for the Mayoralty of the great city so soon to commence its chartered existence. The nomination was made by Justice McCarthy, of the City Court, which he introduced with a short, but telling speech, ex-Judge Troy, of Kings, seconding the nomination. Other municipal officers were selected, and a platform naturally followed. This latter emphasized the need of those cardinal Democratic doctrines, Home Rule and personal liberty, condemning the Raines law; conspiracies to crush out competition in business; in favor of municipal ownership of municipal franchises; reduction, to a reasonable rate, of illuminating gas; insisting on the eight-hour law for labor; favoring adequate school accommodations; the development of rapid transit and public improvements of every character. With these plainly expressed aims and purposes, they asked the people for that support which was, two months later, answered with a most emphatic affirmative response.

By this time the Citizens' Union, with Seth Low for its candidate, was engaged in active work. Senator Platt was urging his candidate, General Tracy, on the regular Republican voters. Henry George had gathered quite a numerous following, while smaller factions of both parties were following with a hue and cry—it was Tammany against the field, but, with undaunted courage and feeling certain of success, because the community, by this time, had sufficient experience of "reform government" to compare its claims with its performance.

At this point it became important to secure the active co-operation of the populous Borough of Brooklyn, which was the stronghold of the Seth Low party; and all politicians recognized the fact that the position taken by the trusted and experienced leader, Mr. Hugh McLaughlin, would have a decided influence upon the voters of that section. Little doubt, however, was entertained that he would give his hearty support to the municipal ticket though ever jealous of the honor and the just claims of Brooklyn. Those who knew him best felt certain that he would not desert the general interests of Democracy, or risk its defeat, out of any feeling of uncertainty as to how his native borough might fare in the consolidation of the cities. The event proved that his good common sense and his keen political insight could be depended upon to throw his powerful influence in the direction of destroying fake reform, and re-establishing an honest and reliable city government, so sadly warped from its course of true reform under the control of fanaticism, bigotry and extravagance.

Among all the combinations attempted against Tammany at this time there was none more grotesque than one which was made in the Harlem district, to effect a union between the Republicans, the Citizens' Union and the Henry

George League. The Republicans, representing, as they did, strictly machine rule, and a "boss" specially execrated by the Citizens' party, the Seth-Lowites standing for the money power and as claimants to superior virtue; while the Henry George party, falsely calling themselves Jeffersonian Democrats (a name to which they had not a shadow of rightful claim), and really representing nothing but the debasement of our currency and impractical, even fantastic notions, such as the single-tax theory. Where was the mental or moral cement which could bind together such heterogeneous material?

Mr. Croker, viewing, with some amusement, the three leading opponents to be met at the polls, sententiously grouped them thus:

A vote for Benjamin F. Tracy means the rule of Plutocracy.

A vote for Seth Low means a Dictatorship.

A vote for Henry George means Socialism.

A vote for Robert A. Van Wyck means individual freedom and Home Rule.

He added: "The Democratic organization known as Tammany Hall is the only party that has always protected the interests of the people absolutely, fearlessly and faithfully, as representing the Democratic party."

It has been sometimes asked: *"Why, if Tammany possesses average political honesty, are so many people found prejudiced against it?"* There are two reasons. One is that its opponents have always dealt largely in vituperation rather than argument, and so influenced many who listen to only one side; while the Democratic party practice just the reverse, deal in argument and avoid abuse.

Another reason is that when Tammany finds anything going wrong in that organization, the Society is the first to expose it and root it out, and secure the punishment of the offender. Thus the wrong immediately becomes known, and the whole party is blamed, when, indeed, this action is deserving of credit. The opponents of Tammany have habitually taken the opposite course—as they have so recently exemplified in the matter of army contracts, etc. Their aim uniformly is not to expose faults or crimes in their partisans, but to conceal the crime, if possible, and shield the criminal, while claiming a monopoly of all the virtues. Which is the honester course?

This is a great cosmopolitan and Democratic city, and should be governed by men of Democratic minds. They should not rest until Home Rule is secured. They should make their own laws, and not be hampered by country gentry who cannot understand the needs of a great metropolis. Misrepresentation of Tammany has been so habitual that many accept the mere accusations for truth, mainly from the fact of constant repetition, never taking the time or having interest enough to seek out the truth for themselves. An organization which has endured all kinds of assaults for over a century must necessarily be honest in its methods. If unsound in any essential of good government, could it have endured so long in a free Republic?

At a large and most enthusiastic meeting of the General Committee, held the first week in June, the Secretary, John B. McGoldrick, read an elaborate paper setting forth the unseemly condition of the reform government of the City of New York, of which the following items formed a part:

First—The proven fact that every charge against Democratic city officials by the Lexow investigating committee, in 1894, was shown to be false; though the sum of $200,000, half of which was authorized by the State Legislature for the

employment of expert accountants, was expended in the search; and also that Democratic officeholders, during their six years in office, handled $250,000,000, of which not one dollar was stolen or wasted!

Secondly—That every contract entered into for public work was awarded to the lowest bidder.

Thirdly—That no public work was paid for until the inspectors and engineers of the department had certified that the specifications were strictly carried out, and that this was also indorsed by the engineers of the Comptroller's office.

The annual yearly budget under Mayors Grant and Gilroy, from January 1st, 1889, to December 31st, 1894, was $34,210,310.33. The budget for 1897, under Mayor Strong, was $45,686,297.17.

Here is a list of the increased amounts in each department under Mayor Strong above the expenditures of the last year under Tammany administration:

INCREASE.

Mayor's office and Bureau of License, Common Council	$14,155
Department of Public Works	457,595
Department of Street Improvements	420,390
Department of Health	156,278
Police Department	1,844,792
Street Cleaning	1,130,863
Fire Department	195,529
Department of Buildings	136,085
Taxes and Assessments	42,500
Board of Education	1,297,105
Commissioners of Accounts	27,500
Sheriff's office	12,050
Armories and Drill Rooms	39,689
Salaries of Judges	320,070
Miscellaneous account	397,098

And yet the cry continued that extravagance, fraud and corruption marked Tammany control!

CHAPTER LX.

SOME EMBARRASING RESULTS OF CONSOLIDATION.

THE complication of the finances continued for several months mainly over the question whether county debts could be justly charged to the consolidated city, and, also, whether public work contracted for, but not accomplished, in some cases not even commenced, could properly be reckoned as part of the city debt. The various legal opinions uttered upon the question whether New York had exceeded its "debt limit" was not finally cleared up, so as to give the new administration full liberty of action, until July, 1899, when it was clearly demonstrated that the city was well within its legal right to issue new bonds, and take up the needed work of improvements; since when, every department has been pushed to its utmost capacity.

New York city is constantly handicapped by the irritating and unjustifiable interference of the State Legislature. The narrow-minded, who appear at present to be in the majority, never seem happy unless they are devising some plan to interfere with Home Rule in the metropolis—as if the residents of any location were not better fitted to judge of their own needs than non-residents can possibly be. If this sort of spirit continues to actuate the State government, the question may very possibly develop as to *dividing the State*, so as to give to the largest city in the United States real Home Rule, of which it is now deprived by the constant interference of the Legislature, whose action, instead of striving to benefit the metropolis, is ever directed to curtailing its liberties, and making it subordinate to outside influence—certainly not superior in intelligence, or any other good quality, to the sound Democracy of the Empire City of the whole country.

CHAPTER LXI.

EFFORTS TO DESTROY THE SOCIETY.

AT various times in the life of this Society, numerous efforts were made to destroy its existence, as well as to impair its usefulness. It being a very strong and powerful Democratic organization, based, as is now understood from the preceding pages on the Rock of Liberty, it became quite important for its opponents to try to weaken its power, and in so doing they have ever freely used the unworthy weapons of vituperation and slander, against its representatives as well as against the Society itself.

In fact, the opponents of the political faith represented by the Tammany organization seem to have made a special point of trying to destroy by defamation of character both individuals as well as the general good name of the Society, believing that that was the best policy to destroy the effectiveness of its organization.

In 1876, an extraordinary effort was made to abolish the Tammany Society, not openly, but under cover of a bill introduced in the State Senate by Senator Wooden, a Republican. This bill, as was generally believed and asserted at the time, was projected and actually drawn by Dorman B. Eaton, a Republican reformer in the City of New York, who appeared before the Judiciary Committee in its support. It was entitled, "An Act to prevent the abuse of corporate franchise and special privileges conferred by law through their use for corrupt and partisan purposes."

The members of the Legislature saw the dangerous power contained in the bill, and also perceived, as the New York *Tribune* expressed it, that "such a sweeping measure might hit where it was not intended."

The unceasing political feud, always existing in the State of New York, however, incited several efforts to control and divert the purposes of the Society, one, particularly strong, being in 1879, after the bolting of the Tammany delegates to the State Convention and the nomination of John Kelly for Governor. The County Democracy, organized under Abram Hewitt, Edward Cooper and others, made a fight at the polls of the Tammany Society at its regular meeting that year, and were defeated by a large majority. The Board of Sachems favored by Mr. Kelly was elected, and his influence and power continued in the Tammany organization.

Then, and now, the policy of all its opponents has been, as is well known, to villify and traduce the Society, while year after year, the confidence of the people is attested in its beneficence and usefulness, by the increased majorities at the polls.

CHAPTER LXII.

GRAND SACHEMS.—FROM 1789 TO 1899.

1789—90. William Mooney.
1790—91. William Pitt Smith.
1791—92. Josiah Ogden Hoffman.
1792—93. John R. B. Rogers.
1793—94. William Pitt Smith.
1794—95. John Little.
1795—96. Peter R. Livingston.
1796—97. Nicholas Evertson.
1808. Benjamin Romain.
1811. Clarkson Crolius. (Major Twenty-seventh Regiment United States Infantry.)
1811. William Mooney.
1819. Clarkson Crolius.
1820. Walter Bowne (Mayor of New York)
George Seaman*.
Samuel B. Romaine.
Matthew L. Davis.
Samuel Hawkens.
Shivers Parker.
M. M. Noah (Editor *National Advocate*)
Robert B. Boyd.
William McMurray.
William J. Waldron.
George G. Warner.
Samuel Hopkins.
1844—45. James Conner.
1845—46. Daniel E. Delevan.
1846—51. Elijah F. Purdy
1851—54. Daniel E. Delevan
1854—55. Elijah F. Purdy.
1855—56. Lorenzo D. Shepard
1856—58. Daniel E. Delevan
1858—60. Isaac V. Fowler.
1860—61. James Conner.
1861—62. William D. Kennedy.
1862—63. Nelson J. Waterbury.
1863—66. Elijah F. Purdy.
1866—68. John T. Hoffman (Governor of New York)
1868—71. William M. Tweed.
1871—74. Augustus Schell.
1884—85. Charles H. Haswell.

* Records lost.

1885—87. P. Henry Dugro (Justice Supreme Court).
1887—89. James A. Flack.
1889—91. Abram D. Tappan.
1891—93. Thomas F. Gilroy.
1895. Frederick Smyth (Justice Supreme Court).
1896. Frederick Smyth (Justice Supreme Court).
1897. Thomas L. Feitner.
1898. Thomas L. Feitner.
1899. Thomas L. Feitner.
1900. Thomas L. Feitner.

* Date of term of office uncertain, records being lost; as also terms of office between 1797 and 1808.

Dates of terms of office for certain periods uncertain as many records were lost between 1808 and 1844. Also in the fire at the Wigwam on Fourteenth street.



CHAPTER LXIII.

CHAIRMEN OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF TAMMANY HALL (The Political Organization,) From 1872 to 1900.

1872—76. Augustus Schell.
1877—80. Henry L. Clinton.
1880. Henry D. Purroy.
1881. Augustus Schell.
1882. John G. Boyd.
1883. William Sauer.
1884. Sidney P. Nichols.
1885—86. Abram D. Tappan.
1887—90. John Cochrane (Brig.-Gen. U. S. Vols., 1860-61).
1891—92. Nelson Smith.
1893—94. Nelson Smith.
1895—99. Augustus Peters.
1899— George M. Van Hoesen.
1900— George M. Van Hoesen

CHAPTER LXIV.

OFFICERS

of the

SOCIETY OF TAMMANY

or

COLUMBIAN ORDER FOR 1901.

Grand Sachem,
Thomas L. Feitner.

Sachems,

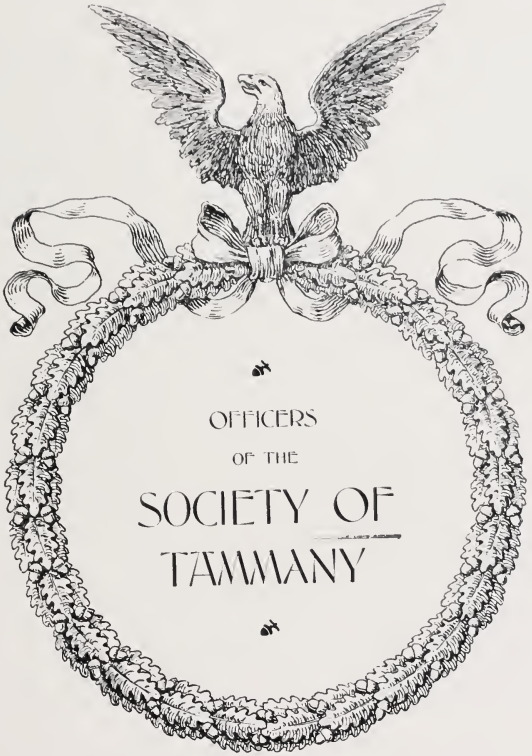
John Whalen,
John F. Carroll,
Daniel F. McMahon,
John W. Keller,
John J. Scannell,
Charles F. Murphy,
Randolph Guggenheimer,
Maurice Featherson,
Asa Bird Gardiner,
George W. Plunkitt,
George C. Clausen,
John Fox,
Thomas J. Dunn.

Secretary,
Thomas F. Smith.

Treasurer,
Peter F. Meyer.

Sagamore,
John T. Nagle

Wiskinkie,
John A. Boyle.


OFFICERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF
TAMMANY



THOMAS L. FEITNER,
Grand Sachem.



JOHN J. SCANNELL.
Sachem.



CHARLES F. MURPHY.
Sachem.



GEORGE C. CLAUSEN,
Sachem.



RANDOLPH GUGGENHEIMER,
Sachem.



ASA BIRD GARDINER,
Sachem.



THOMAS J. DUNN,
Sachem.



JOHN F. CARROLL,
Sachem.



JOHN WHALEN,
Sachem.



JOHN W. KELLER,
Sachem.



MAURICE FEATHERSON,
Sachem.



GEORGE W. PLUNKITT,
Sachem.



JOHN FOX,
Sachem.



PETER F. MEYER,
Treasurer.



JOHN T. NAGLE,
Sagamore.



THOMAS F. SMITH,
Secretary.



JOHN A. BOYLE,
Wiskinkie.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATS

AND MEMBERS OF THE

TAMMANY SOCIETY.



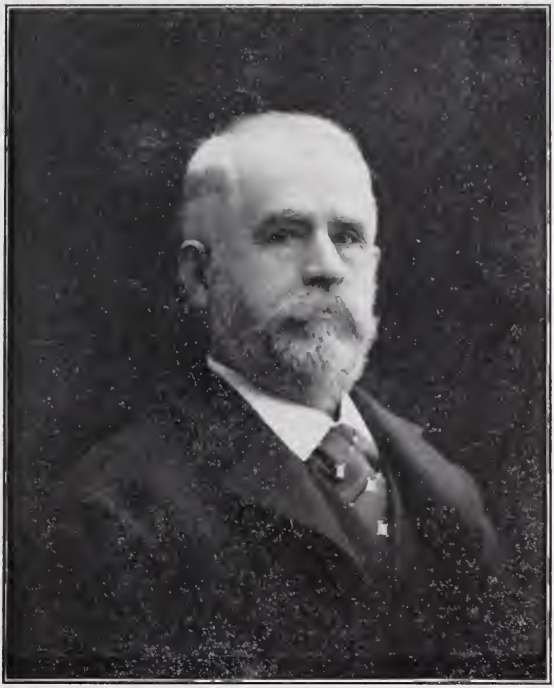
ROBERT A. VAN WYCK.



JOHN B. SEXTON.



PATRICK KEENAN.



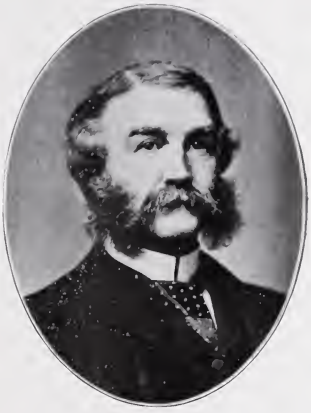
JOHN McQUADE.



AUGUSTUS T. DOCHARTY.



VERNON M. DAVIS.



GEORGE M. VAN HOESEN



WILLIAM T. JENKINS, M.D.



JOHN B. COSBY, M.D.



GEORGE P. ANDREWS.



WILLIAM DALTON.



GEORGE F. SCANNELL.



BERNARD F. MARTIN.



LAWRENCE DELMOUR.



HENRY A. GILDERSLEEVE.



DAVID McADAM.



HENRY W. BOOKSTAVER.



CHARLES H. TRUAX.



DAVID LEVENTRITT.



JAMES A. O'GORMAN.



MAURICE UNTERMYER.



OLIVER H. P. BELMONT.



WILLIAM ASTOR CHANLER.



ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.



LEWIS NIXON.



M. WARLEY PLATZEK.



FRANCIS J. LANTRY.



JOHN T. OAKLEY.



PATRICK J. SCULLY.



NICHOLAS J. HAYES.



JOHN J. FREEDMAN.



JOHN F. McINTYRE.



LOUIS F. HAFFEN.



AUGUST MOEBUS.



THOMAS F. DONNELLY.



JOHN B. McKEAN.



NATHAN STRAUS.



WILLIAM F. GRELL.



ISAAC FROMME.



MICHAEL T. DALY.



THOMAS S. BRENNAN.



THOMAS E. CRIMMINS.



W. J. K. KENNEY.



MATHEW F. DONOHUE.



JOHN J. RYAN.



JAMES J. PHELAN.



PATRICK KEAHON.



LOUIS J. CONLAN.



JAMES M. FITZSIMONS.



JOHN HENRY McCARTHY.



JOHN P. SCHUCHMAN.



P. HENRY DUGRO.



CHARLES H. KNOX.



WILLIAM WARNER PENFIELD.



BENJAMIN HOFFMAN.



JOHN M. TIERNEY.



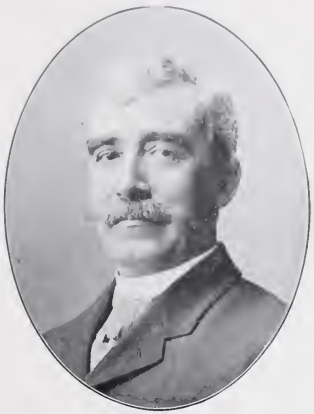
HERMANN BOLTE.



FRANCIS M. SCOTT.



CHARLES E. SIMMS, JR.



HENRY A. BRANN.



HERMAN JOSEPH.



WILLIAM F. MOORE.



WILLIAM GILBERT DAVIES.



JAMES J. MARTIN.



CORD MEYER.



EDWARD OWEN.



JOHN C. HERTLE.



DAVID McCLURE.



STEWART M. BRICE.



BARTOW S. WEEKS.



JAMES L. GORDON.



GEORGE G. BATTLE.



ANDREW FREEDMAN.



MARTIN ENGEL.



THOMAS C. T. CRAIN.



PATRICK DIVVER.



DAVID E. AUSTEN.



MILES M. O'BRIEN



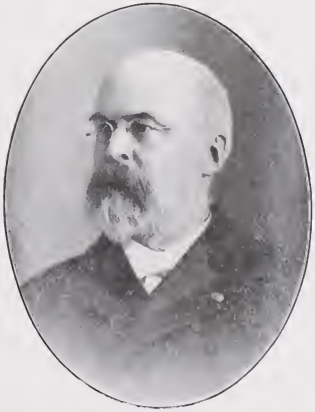
ALBERT M. CARD.



JULIAN D. FAIRCHILD.



SMITH E. LANE.



JOHN N. LEWIS.



THOMAS J. BRADY.



WILLIS HOLLY.



WILLIAM J. FRYER.



THOMAS L. WATT.



MILTON ROBLEE.



WILLIAM C. TOWEN.



EDWARD E. McCALL.



JACOB RUPPERT, JR.



WILLIAM E. STILLINGS.



JAMES D. McCLELLAND.



JOHN A. SULLIVAN.



THEODORE W. MYERS.



WILLIAM H. ROWE.



CHARLES P. WELDE.



JOSEPH H. STEINER.



HENRY D. HOTCHKISS.



VICTOR J. DOWLING.



THOMAS F. GRADY.



ANTONIO ZUCCA.



WILLIAM A. BUTLER.



THADDEUS MORIARTY.



LEO C. DESSAR.



JAMES D. BELL.



GEORGE HILL.



JOHN H. MOONEY.



MAURICE J. POWER.



GEORGE L. STERLING.



WILLIAM SULZER.



GEORGE LIVINGSTON.



CLINTON H. SMITH.



JOHN T. BRADY.



FLORENCE J. SULLIVAN.



WILLIAM SOHMER.



VINCENT C. KING.



DELANO C. CALVIN.



WILLIAM M. HOES.



A. O. McCALL.



AMOS J. CUMMINGS.



GEORGE F. SPINNEY.



WILLIAM J. FANNING.



WILLIAM P. MITCHELL.



WILLIAM T. EMMETT.



BIRD S. COLER.



CHARLES BLANDY.



JOSEPH P. FALLON.



EDWARD GILON.



CHARLES G. F. WAHLE.



JOHN Q. UNDERHILL.



FRANKLIN BIEN.



CHARLES W. DAYTON.



JAMES W. OSBORNE.



GEORGE MUNDORF.



FRANK T. FITZGERALD.



MAURICE B. BLUMENTHAL.



ADOLPH C. HOTTENROTH.



HENRY A. GUMBLETON.



MYRON H. OPPENHEIM.



ISAAC A. HOPPER.



HENRY W. UNGER.



JACOB E. BAUSCH.



THORNTON N. MOTLEY.



HANS S. BEATTIE.



JOHN H. V. ARNOLD.



GEORGE ED. HARDING.



GEORGE M. CURTIS.



ALBERT E. CRABTREE.



JAMES W. BOYLE.



NELSON SMITH.



DANIEL P. HAYS.



ANTONIO RASINES.



GEORGE H. TOOP.



JOHN B. DOERR.



JAMES W. O'BRIEN.



ROLLIN M. MORGAN.



THOMAS McADAM.



WELLESLEY W. GAGE.



WALTER S. LOGAN.



THOMAS P. DINNEAN.



PERCIVAL FARQUHAR.



EDWARD SHEEHY.



WILLIAM A. SWEETSER.



WILLIAM P. BURR.



ABEL CROOK.



JOHN E. BRODSKY.



WILLIAM R. GRACE.



FREDERICK HABERMAN



GEORGE F. ROESCH.



PHILIP J. BRITT.



THOMAS F. BYRNE.



ALBERT BACH.



CHARLES D. OHLENDORF



CHARLES A. JACKSON.



HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE.



DANIEL J. RIORDAN.



RICHARD H. MITCHEL.



JOHN McCARTNEY.



WILLIAM J. LARDNER.



CHARLES L. GUY.



WILLIAM H. PAGE, JR.



OTTO HORWITZ.



ALPHONSE H. ALKER.



LOUIS DAVIDSON.



THOMAS J. BRADLEY.



JAMES KEARNEY.



STEPHEN S. BLAKE.



LOUIS HANNEMAN.



RASTUS S. RANSOM.



BRYAN L. KENNELLY.



GEORGE FAHRBACH.



RICHARD FITZPATRICK.



LAWRENCE W. AHRENS.



CHARLES J. HARDY.



ABRAHAM M. FROMBERG.



EDWARD KEARNEY.



C. E. LYDECKER.



EDWARD HASSETT.



SIDNEY HARRIS.



TERRY SMITH.



WILLIAM L. TURNER.



SHERIDAN S. NORTON.



THEODORE F. HASCALL.



LOUIS C. RAEGENER.



EDWARD B. LAFETRA.



AUSTIN E. PRESSINGER.



LOUIS MINSKY.



LEON SANDERS.



OSWALD OTTENDORFER.



ANDREW H. GREEN.



E. ELLERY ANDERSON.



JOHN J. QUINN.



C. M. BEATTIE.



JOHN HENRY ROGAN.



JOHN H. PATRICK.

BIOGRAPHIES

OF

NEW YORK DEMOCRATS

AND MEMBERS OF THE

TAMMANY SOCIETY.

AHRENS, L. W.—Was born in this city and received his early education in the public schools. He is a Mason, a prominent member of the Royal Arcanum, and a veteran of the Seventy-first Regiment, New York State Volunteers. He is a member of the Democratic Club, the Pontiac, Nameoki and West End Clubs, and is a member of the Tammany Hall General Committee of the Twenty-first Assembly District. He has been a staunch Democrat all his life, and has always been prominent in the councils of his party.

ALKER, ALPHONSE HENRY—Lawyer, born in New York, October 8th, 1851. He is a member of the Tammany Society and has been a member of Tammany Hall since 1873, serving on various committees during that time. He is at present a resident of the Twenty-seventh Assembly District, where he has many friends.

ANDERSON, E. ELLERY—Lawyer, born in New York City in 1833; has been a prominent figure in Democratic politics since attaining his majority. Has never held public office, but has accepted a number of public trusts, such as School Trustee, Rapid Transit Commissioner, and Commissioner in reference to acquiring lands both for the Croton Aqueduct and elevated railway. Appointed by President Cleveland, in 1887, a commissioner to investigate the affairs of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railway Companies. Served as Major in New York State Militia during Civil War.

ANDREWS, GEORGE P.—Justice of the Supreme Court, born in Maine. After being graduated from Yale College, came to New York, in 1859, and was admitted to the New York Bar in 1860. He has held the offices of Assistant United States District Attorney of the Southern District of New York, Assistant Corporation Counsel, and, later, Corporation Counsel of the City of New York. In 1883 he was elected to the Supreme Court Bench and re-elected in 1898. Judge Andrews is a strong and loyal Democrat, and has taken an active interest in the affairs of his party.

ARNOLD, JOHN HARVEY VINCENT—Lawyer, ex-Surrogate, literateur and art collector, born in New York July 23, 1839. He was educated at public and private schools, and took a classical course at the University of the City of New York. In 1889 Mr. Arnold was appointed by the Board of Aldermen to be President of that body, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of George H. Forster. In the fall of the same year he was nominated for the same office and elected to serve until 1890, and he was then again elected for a two years' term. For a year he returned to his law practice, and then he was, in 1893, nominated and elected Surrogate for the term of fourteen years, but he resigned in February, 1899. Mr. Arnold was one of the Sachems of the Tammany Society. Died 1901.

AUSTIN, COL. DAVID E.—This distinguished officer and thorough Democratic politician was born in New York, at the house of his grandfather on Bowling Green. He has filled many important offices and his military record forms a part of the history of the State. He is a member of the Tammany General Committee, of the Democratic Club, and the Regatta Committee and a veteran of the Grand Army of the Republic.

BACH, ALBERT—Assistant Corporation Counsel of the City of New York, born in this city in 1854, has been active in Tammany circles for many years and is very prominent also as a lawyer and author; member of Democratic Club, Continental Whist Club, Royal Arcanum and the Order of the American Legion of Honor.

BATTLE, GEORGE GORDON—Born in North Carolina, October 26, 1868, was graduated from the University of Virginia in 1889, with the degree of Master of Arts. Studied law at the University of Virginia under Prof. John B. Minor, and at Columbia College, under Prof. Theodore W. Dwight. Began practice of law in New York City in 1890. In 1892 was appointed Assistant District Attorney by the then District Attorney, De Lancey Nicoll. In 1894 was placed in charge of the Bureau of Indictments by the late Col. John R. Fellows. Shortly after the death of Col. Fellows, resigned from the office and entered into the general practice with Bartow S. Weeks, at 100 Broadway, under the firm name of Weeks & Battle. The firm name was subsequently changed to Weeks, Battle & Marshall, Mr. H. Snowden Marshall becoming a partner. Is a member of the Bar Association, the Southern Society, the Calumet, Military and Seneca Clubs, the Columbian Order, and is a member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall in the Twenty-fifth Assembly District.

BAUSCH, JACOB E.—Coroner Bausch was born in the City of New York and received his education in Grammar School No. 22. Immediately after leaving school he entered into the employ of Palmer & Embury as an apprentice, and learned the trade of wood carving. He has represented the Wood Carvers' Association as business agent and walking delegate for many years. He was elected Coroner in 1897 by a very large majority over his opponent. Mr. Bausch is a member of the George Washington Benevolent Society, the Central Labor Union, Building Trade Section, Queer Fellows' Association and Compact Social League.

BEACH, MILES—Justice of the Supreme Court, and son of the late Hon. William A. Beach, was born in 1833. Educated at Union College, appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1879, and elected in 1880, and again elected in 1893, and transferred in 1894, through the consolidation of the courts, to the Supreme Court.

BEATTIE, CHARLES MAITLAND.—Charles Maitland Beattie was born in New York City in 1858, where he received his education in the College of the City of New York. He chose a professional career, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1882, where he has since practiced. His present office is at 116 Nassau street. Mr. Beattie is a member of the Democratic Club, the New York Press Club and the General Committee of Tammany Hall from the Ninth Assembly District. He is an ardent Tammany Hall man.

BEATTIE, HANS STEVENSON—Was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1849. He went to London at eighteen where he studied stenography and the elements of law. He came to New York when nineteen and entered as a student at the New York University. He was admitted to practice in the State and United States Courts, and in 1881 entered the office of William C. Whitney, Corporation Counsel, and was afterwards appointed Surveyor of the Port by President Cleveland. He was Commissioner of Street Cleaning under Mayor Grant, and in 1893 was appointed Treasurer of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of New York.

BELL, ISAAC.—Was born at 14 Greenwich street, New York, 1814. His father and grandfather were both Isaac Bells and were distinguished citizens before the Revolution. Mr. Bell began his business career in the old firm of Lentilhon & Co., in whose interest he visited the South and made several trips to Europe where he met Miss Mott, to whom he was afterward married. In 1844, while South, he was made a member of the staff of the Governor of Alabama, and in 1848 was elected to Congress from the same State. Coming to New York he joined Tammany Hall and was elected to the Board of Supervisors, and, in 1857, was appointed Commissioner of Charities and Correction. In '69 he was appointed a member of the Board of Education in which his broad principles were also conspicuous. He was mainly instrumental in founding Bellevue Hospital and in establishing the system of hospital ambulances in New York. Mr. Bell organized the Riot Relief Fund of which he was custodian until succeeded by his son Edward, a few years ago. During the Rebellion he provided ways and means for upholding the Union. He was a genial figure in society and a general favorite with everyone. He died in 1897, after a long and useful life.

BELL, JAMES D.—Of the Fifth Assembly District of the County of Kings, Brooklyn, was born in New York in 1845. He has held many leading positions, among which may be named: Supervisor of Nineteenth Ward, Brooklyn; Chairman of Law Commission, Commissioner of Police and Excise, Commissioner and Secretary of new East River Bridge, Chairman of Special Committee on Reorganization Democratic party of Kings, Chairman Democratic General Committee, Chairman Committee on Organization. First Vice-President, Brooklyn Bar Association; Chairman Law Library, Brooklyn; Chairman, member and ex-Committee, G. A. R., Kings County in 1899, for fourth term. It will thus be seen that Mr. Bell is a leader in the many business and political organizations of the greater city.

BELMONT, OLIVER H. P.—Congressman Belmont, son of the late August Belmont, the banker, was born in the City of New York in 1858, attended school here and at St. Paul's, and later went abroad for three years to complete his studies. Returning to America he entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis, graduating in 1889, and served two years in the Navy. Resigning from the Navy Mr. Belmont became a member of the firm of August Belmont. In 1900 he was elected a member of Congress from the Thirteenth New York Congressional District. Mr. Belmont is a member of the New York Yacht Club, Democratic Club, and is a Mason and Past Master of St. John's Lodge, A. F. and A. M., No. 1, of Newport, R. I.

BIEN, FRANKLIN—Member of New York Bar, was born in this city January 23, 1853. Educated in public schools, Free Academy of the City of New York (now College of the City of New York), Columbia Law School. Counsel for many corporations in the United States, and has acted as counsel in important questions connected with the Democratic party. Never held public office.

BIRDSALL, GEORGE W.—Chief Engineer, Department of Water Supply. Born in New York in 1836; appointed Assistant Engineer Department Public Works in 1871; First Assistant, 1875; made Chief Engineer in 1879; holding same until 1898, when appointed to present position.

BLAKE, MICHAEL F.—Michael F. Blake, Clerk of the Board of Aldermen, was born in the Eighteenth Ward, City of New York, August 1, 1857. He was educated in the public schools and the Columbia College Law School. Mr. Blake studied law in the office of Ex-Supreme Court Justice Abraham B. Tappen and Henry Parsons. He subsequently embarked in journalism and was for many years a writer on the New York *Herald*. In 1889 he resigned from the *Herald* to accept the position of Deputy Clerk to the Board of Aldermen, where he served for some years under Captain Francis J. Twomey. When Captain Twomey retired on account of age, Mr. Blake was unanimously elected clerk to the Common Council which position he held for many years. In 1898 Mr. Blake was reappointed to the position of clerk to the Board of Aldermen, which place he now holds. He is vice-chairman of the General Committee of Tammany Hall of the Eighteenth Assembly District and chairman of the Law Committee of that District. He is a member of the Democratic, Press and Anawanda Clubs.

BLAKE, STEPHEN S.—Assistant District Attorney. Born in Ireland in 1843; came to the United States when eight years of age. He entered Niagara College, from which he was graduated in 1865, subsequently pursuing a two-years' course of higher studies at the College of Montreal. Was elected City Clerk of the City of Bridgeport, Conn., and served for three years on the Board of Aldermen of that city; was Town Attorney, also Prosecuting Attorney of the City of Bridgeport. He was Judge of the City Court of Bridgeport, by appointment of the Legislature, for four terms. In 1880 he was the candidate of the Democratic party for Secretary of State. In 1881 Mr. Blake removed to this city and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1894 and of the Legislature of 1895.

BLANDY, CHARLES.—Assistant Corporation Counsel Charles Blandy was born in Ireland in 1848. He was educated in the public schools and the Worcester College of England. He later removed to New York and in 1867 entered upon the study of law in New York City. In 1872 he was admitted to the bar at General Term and at once began an active practice. In 1882 William C. Whitney, then Corporation Counsel, invited Mr. Blandy to become one of his assistants to try jury cases and he accepted the office and held it during all of Mr. Whitney's term as well as that of his successor, afterwards Judge George P. Andrews. In 1890 William H. Clark became Corporation Counsel and made Mr. Blandy second assistant to try the most important cases. John Whalen, Corporation Counsel, made him one of his assistants on January 1, 1898.

BLUMENTHAL, MAURICE B.—Former Assistant District Attorney, was born in this city in 1870, and long before he reached his majority he interested himself in political affairs and became, as he has ever since been, an ardent Democrat. He studied law in the University of the City of New York. He placed in nomination in the various conventions Judge Leonard A. Giegerich and Frederick Smyth of the Supreme Court, and Judge Schuchman of the City Court. He was named as a Presidential Elector upon the Democratic ticket of 1856. He is a member of the Tammany Hall Committee on Organization, Tammany Society, Progress Club, the Home Social Club, the Seminole Club, the Jefferson Club of the Sixteenth Assembly District, the Young Men's Democratic Club, the Eleventh Ward League, the Comanche Legion, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Greater New York Democratic Alliance, the Jacksonian Club, the Lone Star Yacht Club, Post Graduate's Grammar School No. 15, the Daniel Webster Lodge, and a number of other social and fraternal organizations. Resigned from District Attorney's office early in 1901.

BOLTE, HERMANN—Justice of the Second District Court, is a graduate of Columbia Law School, class 1874; afterwards attended University at Heidelberg, Germany, to study civil law. In 1893 he was elected Justice of the Second District Court. It is worthy to note that out of a registration of over 12,800 votes, he received the largest majority of votes, namely 10,975, ever cast in the District, and on his re-election, 1899, received over 85 per cent. of the entire vote cast in his Judicial District. Judge Bolte has always taken a very deep interest in the public schools in this city and in educational matters generally. Through his sole endeavors the new schoolhouse, Grammar School No. 1, Henry and Oliver streets, has been erected, while acting as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Fourth Ward, from January 1, 1891, until July 1, 1896.

BOOKSTAVER, HENRY W.—Was born in 1835. He received his early education at an academy in Orange County, New York, and prepared himself for Rutgers College, from which he graduated with high honors. He was admitted to the bar in 1861, and later became a member of the law firm of Brown, Hull & Vanderpoel. Among the official places he has filled previous to his election to the bench of the Supreme Court are Sheriff's Attorney, counsel to the Police Board, and counsel to the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections. Ex-Judge Bookstaver is one of New York's most eminent lawyers, with a large clientele and practice, with offices at 256 Broadway.

BOUKER, DEWITT CLINTON, JR.—Prominent among the contractors of Greater New York is D. C. Bouker, Jr., who was born in Greenville, Hudson County, N. J., in 1865. Shortly after he was born his parents removed to Far Rockaway, Queens County, L. I., since which time Mr. Bouker has been a resident of New York and closely identified with the business and political affairs of the metropolis; in fact Mr. Bouker is a typical New Yorker and a Democrat.

BOYLE, JAMES W.—Was born in New York on May 14, 1845. He was appointed a Commissioner of Appraisement and Assessment for lands taken for the new aqueduct in 1892. Mr. Boyle is a member of the Manhattan, Democratic and New York Athletic Clubs, and is also Chairman of the Tammany Hall General Committee of the Seventh Assembly District. He has been a member of the Tammany organization ever since he took an interest in politics. He was appointed a Commissioner of the new East River Bridge in 1898.

BOYLE, JOHN AMBROSE.—Was born in the City of New York in 1846; educated in the public schools of this city. He went to the war as a drummer boy with the Sixty-ninth Regiment and was a veteran at the age of seventeen. Mr. Boyle has been employed in the Register's office for the last twenty years, having advanced himself to the position of Chief Searcher and Examiner. He has also been the Financial Secretary of the old Eighteenth, now the Twentieth Assembly District, Tammany Hall General Committee, for twenty-five years. Mr. Boyle was elected Wiskinkie of the Tammany Society in 1898.

BRADY, JOHN T.—One of the foremost builders and contractors of the City of New York is John T. Brady, who was born in Ireland in 1849. Beginning without a dollar capital, he is now at the head, and hundreds of the finest structures in the city attest his capabilities. Among these are the residences of E. W. Bliss, Nathan Strauss, Mrs. Kohn, and the public buildings, such as the new Surrogate's Court, Thirteenth Judicial District Court and Grant's tomb, on Riverside Drive.

BRADY, THOMAS J.—Former President Department of Buildings, was born in this city in 1854. Became Inspector of the Fire Department in 1884; First Department of the Bureau of Inspection of Buildings in the Fire Department in 1887; Superintendent of Buildings in 1889; appointed President Department of Buildings in 1898; resigned April, 1901.

BRADLEY, THOMAS J.—Member of Congress from the Ninth Congressional District, was born in this city in 1870. He attended the public schools and was graduated from the City College in 1887. He taught school at Lenox avenue and 134th street, and in 128th street between Lenox and Seventh avenues. In 1891 he was admitted to the bar. Although barely of age, he was made an Assistant District Attorney, which position he held until 1895, when he resigned to practice law. He was nominated for Congress in 1896 against "Tim" Campbell, whom he easily defeated, and ran 1,400 ahead of his ticket. Died 1901.

BRANN, HENRY A.—Born in Ireland in 1847; landed in America in 1850; admitted to the bar in 1868 at Albany; joined Tammany Hall in 1869; has since been a prominent member; has served on General and District Committees of the Twenty-third District; has held the office of City Magistrate since 1895.

BRENNAN, THOMAS S.—Deputy Commissioner of Charities, born in this city 1844; appointed Warden of Bellevue in 1866; appointed in 1860 to Bellevue Hospital as Watchman, then Captain of Night Watch; promoted to Island Hospital as Steward in 1864; remained as Steward until 1866, then promoted, and in 1875 appointed Commissioner of Public Charities and Correction and twice reappointed. Appointed Street Cleaning Commissioner by Mayor Grant in 1893 and served for one year, resigning to engage in the real estate business. Died in 1901.

BRICE, STEWART M.—Councilman Brice was born in Lima, Ohio, in 1870 and received his early education in his native city. He removed to New York in 1881 and continued his studies in a private school in the metropolis. After two years of this training he entered the Philips Academy of Exeter, in the State of New Hampshire. In 1886 he started upon a tour around the world. Shortly after returning from his trip, which was in 1887, he entered Harvard. On the completion of his course in Harvard in 1893, he entered upon an active business career. He became General Manager of the Dayton Natural Gas Company, of Dayton, Ohio, and about a year after assumed personal charge of the enormous railroad interests of his father, Senator Calvin S. Brice. In 1897 Mr. Brice was elected a member of the Council. He is a member of the New York Athletic Club, the Racquet Club, the Knickerbocker Club, the Lambs Club and the order of the Elks.

BRITT, PHILIP J.—Lawyer, born in this city in 1865. Identified with Tammany Hall since 1886, and for a number of years Secretary of the Committee on Speakers. Graduate of Manhattan College and Columbia University. Searcher of Titles in Register's office, 1888-1890; appointed Counsel to Sheriff in 1898. Member of Tammany Society since 1888.

BRODSKY, JOHN E.—Born in New York City May 30, 1855. He received his early education in the public schools and from private teachers. He then went to Columbia Law School, and was graduated from that institution in the class of '76, receiving the degree of LL. B. He was admitted to the bar in July, 1876. Mr. Brodsky entered politics in 1876, and was a pupil and protege of the late John J. O'Brien. He was elected to the Assembly in 1879, and continued until 1882, when he accepted a Senatorial nomination. Re-elected to the Assembly as an Independent in 1891. Mr. Brodsky is an active and prominent member of Tammany Hall. He represented the Eighth Assembly District, but now resides in the Thirty-first Assembly District.

BROWNE, EDWARD, EX-JUDGE—was born in Ireland, but received his early education in this city. He was elected a Judge of the City Court in 1883. Counsel to Excise Board five years. Judge Browne is a member of the General Committee and Committee on Organization of the Ninth Assembly District of Tammany Hall. He has always been an ardent Democrat and a worker for his party. He served in the Civil War in the Army of Potomac. Received "Medal of Honor" from United States Congress for bravery at battle of Fredericksburg, May, 1863, and brevetted Captain United States Volunteers for gallantry on field of battle.

BURR, WILLIAM P.—Was born in Dublin, Ireland, March 30, 1857. He received his early education in that city under the tuition of Madam Martin, niece of Cardinal Cullin. Coming to New York in 1863 he attended the De La Salle Institute and later entered St. James' College, Baltimore. In 1875 he was appointed to the West Point Military Academy, but left there in 1877 to enter the Columbia College Law School, where he was graduated in 1879, and admitted to the Bar the same year. He was a delegate to the New York Constitutional Convention from the Eleventh Senatorial District, distinguishing himself there by his fight against trusts and monopolies. He is a member of the Manhattan, Democratic, Lawyers', Narragansett, Sagamore and Harlem Democratic Clubs, State Bar Association, Tammany Society and of the Standing Committee of Tammany Hall on Resolutions and Correspondence.

BUTLER, WILLIAM A.—The Supervisor of the City Record and former Clerk of the County of New York, William A. Butler, was born in this city and has been a member of Tammany Hall for over twenty years. Mr. Butler was elected County Clerk in 1879. He is a resident of the Twenty-first Assembly District, and continues Supervisor of the City Record at the present time.

BYRNE, THOMAS F.—Deputy Assistant District Attorney, born in this city in 1855. Graduated from Manhattan College in 1874 and New York University Law School in 1877. He has been an active and influential member of Tammany Hall since 1893, and a member of the Tammany Society since 1897. Resides in the Fifth Assembly District, and has served upon the General Committee and Committee of Organization.

CALVIN, DELANO C., L.L. D.—Judge Calvin was born in Clayton, N. Y., and has been active in Tammany Hall since 1866. He held the office of District Attorney of Jefferson County, Commissioner of Education in Watertown, N. Y., and Surrogate, County of New York, and at present is in legal practice at 58 William street, being largely identified with estate cases and practice in the higher courts. In politics he has been a power in the State ever since his introduction by Governor Seymour and Senator Kernan, in whose interests, and that of faithful Tammany and the regular Democracy, he has so repeatedly and successfully canvassed the city and the State.

CARD, ALBERT M.—Born in Ancram, N. Y., July 21, 1845; was educated in the public schools and at the Amenia Seminary and Eastman Business College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He studied law with Hon. Charles Wheaton, of Poughkeepsie, and began the practice of law in Duchess County. He has always been a Democrat. Mr. Card was United States District Revenue Assessor, with headquarters at Poughkeepsie, and served as School Commissioner of Duchess County. For twelve years he was Judge of Probate for the District of Sharon, Conn., and three years member of Assembly in Connecticut. Mr. Card

is President of the Village of Sharon; President of the Sharon Casino Company, and a Director of the Sharon Water Company, the Sharon Telephone Company and the Sharon Electric Light Company. He is also Commissioner of the Superior Court of Connecticut, Vice-President and Secretary of the Salisbury Carbonate Iron Company, and Secretary and Treasurer of the Landon Iron Company. He is President and General Manager of the Amenia Mining Company, Secretary of the Kelley Mining Company, and a Director of the First National Bank of Amenia, N. Y. He is a member of the New York State Bar Association, the Democratic Club, the Harlem Democratic Club, Tammany Hall and the Old Put Club, of Danbury, Conn.

CARROLL, JOHN F.—Has lived all his life in the old Sixteenth, but now divided into the Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth Assembly Districts. He was for twenty-five years active in politics, and during his administration as Tammany Hall leader he proved an able and brilliant campaigner and has scored victory after victory. He has always been unswerving in his loyalty to the Tammany Hall organization, and so successful were his labors that, under his leadership, a once doubtful district came to the front as a Democratic stronghold. As Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Finance of Tammany Hall Mr. Carroll retains his connection with the organization, and is welcomed in its inner councils. He is a shrewd, level-headed politician, whose intimate knowledge of public men and affairs and an experience extending over a quarter of a century give to his opinions on matters political very great weight. Mr. Carroll was first appointed to public office as Clerk to the Grand Jury by the late Supreme Court Justice Frederick Smyth, who was then Recorder, in 1879. His abilities as shown in this position brought the usual reward. He was made Clerk of the Seventh District Civil Court, and was subsequently promoted to the Clerkship of the Court of Special Sessions. In 1891 he was unanimously chosen by the Judges to the responsible place of Clerk of the Court of General Sessions.

CHANLER, WILLIAM ASTOR—Was born June 11, 1867, in Newport, R. I., son of John Winthrop Chanler, who served several terms in the Legislature of New York State, and represented the Seventh Congressional District of that State for three terms; was educated at St. John's School, Sing Sing; Phillips' Academy, Exeter, N. H., and Harvard University, which he left to undertake explorations in Africa, the result of his travels having been published in a book; had conferred upon him the degree of A. M. by Harvard University, and became a member of two European geographical societies; was elected to the Assembly in the New York State Legislature in 1897 from the Fifth district, and was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving *31,604* votes, to *25,209* for Lemuel E. Quigg, Republican, 1,307 for Emil Neppel, Socialist Labor, and 104 for Albert Wadhams, Prohibitionist.

CLAUSEN, GEORGE C.—President Department of Parks, was born in this city in 1849. Appointed Commissioner of Taxes in 1893, and made Park Commissioner by Mayor Gilroy the same year. Re-appointed to the same position by Mayor Van Wyck in 1898.

COLER, BIRD S.—Comptroller of the City of New York was born in Champagne, Ill., in 1866. He is the present Chairman of the Finance Committee of the General Committe of the regular Democratic organization in Brooklyn, and has made himself felt in the councils of the leaders. He became identified with Brooklyn politics in 1891.

CONLAN, LEWIS J.—One of the Justices of the City Court, was born in Camden, Oneida County, N. Y., and was educated in the Polytechnic Institute in Troy, and was elected a member of the Legislature in 1885 and a Judge of the City Court in 1893. He is a member of the Manhattan, Catholic, Democratic, Hardware and Press Clubs.

COSBY, JOHN B.—Health Commissioner, was born in Tennessee and educated in that State and in Baltimore Medical College. Coming to New York he became a firm advocate of Tammany Hall and was selected for his present position by Mayor Van Wyck in 1898.

CRABTREE, ALBERT E.—Auctioneer and appraiser. Born in this city in 1861. Resides in Thirty-first Assembly District. President of Carondelet Democratic Club, and an energetic Tammany worker in his district.

CRAIN, T. C. T.—As a thorough Democrat and "Tammany Man," Thomas C. T. Crain is known to all New York. He was born in this city, went abroad with his parents at an early age, and was educated in Europe. He has been active in the Democratic ranks since 1822 and with Judge Pryor and other men of note, has battled for the maintenance of Democratic principles, especially in the Tammany campaigns. From 1890 till 1894 he was City Chamberlain.

CROOK, ABEL.—Was born in Brooklyn, 1842. Graduated from Williams College in 1862, with degrees of B.A. and M.A., and from Columbia College law school in 1864, with degree of Master of Laws. Since then he has been in active legal practice in New York, an associate with Hon. A. B. Tappen, Hon. J. B. Haskins, Supreme Court Justice Ingraham, Bourke Cockran, etc. He is a member of the Democratic Club, the Brooklyn Club, Accomack, and other important organizations. His legal practice has been extensive, covering the most decisive cases before the Supreme Court and high tribunals of the city and State, and affecting corporate and legislative interests of the most important character.

CUMMINGS, AMOS J.—New York's famous Congressman, Amos J. Cummings, was born at Conkling, Broome County, New York, in 1841. After many adventures in the South he became a compositor on the New York *Tribune*; after was sargeant major of a regiment in the war; was distinguished by a medal for gallantry in action; became an editor of the *Tribune* and later of the *Sun*; was elected to Congress in 1886 and has been the people's chosen representative almost continuously since that time. As a literary man, an orator and a statesman he has few peers.

CURTIS, GEORGE M.—Was born in Worcester, Mass., in 1843, and pursued his law studies with Gen. B. F. Butler, of Lowell, Mass., and Hon. John W. Ashmead, of this city, being admitted to practice in the New York courts in 1862. Was a member of the Legislature in 1864, 1865 and 1866; Assistant Corporation Counsel of the city in 1865-66, and was elected a Judge of Marine Court in 1867 and served a full term of six years. Since his seventeenth year he has stumped the city for Tammany Hall, and the State and nation for the Democratic party.

DALTON, WILLIAM—Commissioner of Water Supply, was born in this city about forty-five years ago. He entered politics at an early age, and was elected to the State Legislature in 1885, serving until 1889. He was appointed Deputy Street Cleaning Commissioner in 1889; Excise Commissioner in 1893; Commissioner of Water Supply in 1898. He is the Democratic leader of the Eleventh Assembly District.

DALY, MICHAEL T.—Commissioner Daly, one of New York's popular officals, was born in Ireland, in 1841. He came to this city when a mere boy, attended the College of New York; first entered political life under Mayor A. Oakey Hall; was for years Chief Clerk of the City Court; in 1891 was appointed Commissioner of Public Accounts, and afterwards to the responsible post of Commissioner of Public Works, winning great credit in the administration of both. He is a chief in local Democracy and a prominent member of Tammany Hall.

DANFORTH, ELLIOTT—Is a native of Middleburgh, Schoharie County, where he was born March 6, 1850. His father was Peter F. Danforth, a lawyer of prominence, a State Senator, and a Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Danforth was educated in the public schools and in the Schoharie Academy. He was admitted to the bar in 1872. In 1880 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, which nominated General Hancock for the Presidency. He was also a delegate to the Chicago Convention four years later, which nominated Grover Cleveland, whom Mr. Danforth supported in the convention. In 1884 Mr. Danforth was appointed Deputy State Treasurer, by Treasurer Fitzgerald. He served five years in that capacity, gaining an experience which proved of excessive value to him when, in 1889, he was nominated for Treasurer, and elected by a plurality of 13,955 votes. In 1891 he was re-elected by a plurality of 43,281, thus evincing his popularity. In 1896 he received the offer of the nomination for Governor upon the retirement of John Boyd Thacher, but declined to serve, preferring to accept the Chairmanship of the State Committee.

DAVIDSON, LOUIS—Lawyer and legislator, was born in this city May 2, 1861. He received his education in the public schools and at the College of the City of New York, graduating from there in 1879. In politics Mr. Davidson was always a true and regular Democrat. In 1892 and 1893 he was elected by a large majority to represent the Twenty-sixth Assembly District of New York County. Died in 1901.

DAVIES, WILLIAM GILBERT—Was born in this city in 1842; educated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., Leipsic, Germany, Columbia College Law School. Admitted to the Bar in 1863. Mr. Davies is a Democrat in politics, and a member of the Union, Century, University, Manhattan, Democratic, Liederkranz, Tuxedo, Lawyers', Groliers and St. Nicholas Clubs, the Sons of the Revolution, the Society of Colonial Wars and the American State, and City Bar Associations.

DAVIS, VERNON M.—Was born in this city in 1855. He was educated in the public and private schools and the College of the City of New York, graduating from the latter institution in 1876. In 1885 he was appointed Deputy Assistant District Attorney by Randolph B. Martine, and later he was promoted to be Assistant District Attorney, serving as such until April 20th, 1897. During the terms of District Attorneys Nicoll and Fellows, Mr. Davis was Acting District Attorney, and upon the death of Col. Fellows he became District Attorney by the unanimous appointment of the Judges of the Court of General Sessions on December 7, 1896, holding the office until the appointment of Mr. Olcott by Governor Black fifteen days later. Mr. Davis is now a member of the School Board of the Borough of Manhattan and the Bronx, a member of the Board of Education of the City of New York, and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of the College of the City of New York, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Normal College. He is a staunch Democrat and a member of the Harlem Democratic, Sagamore and Democratic Clubs.

DAYTON, CHARLES W.—This well-known New York Democrat has been prominently before the public since his eighteenth year. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1881; was a presidential elector in 1855; was appointed Postmaster of New York by President Cleveland in 1893 and in every position has proved his fitness for the conduct of public affairs.

DESSAR, LEO C.—Was educated in the public schools and at an academy in Cincinnati, and while yet a mere boy during his college days, he left his studies to take part in the war for the Union. On his discharge he was graduated from the Columbia College Law School, and in 1870, admitted to the New York bar. He at once engaged in practice, while at the same time taking a prominent part in the anti-Tweed reform movement, of which Samuel J. Tilden was the leader, being one of Mr. Tilden's chief associates in carrying out the reform measures. With the nomination of Tilden for Governor of the State in 1874, at his request, Mr. Dessar became a candidate for the Assembly, and was elected from the Seventeenth District of New York City. In 1884 Mr. Dessar was elected the first civil justice of the then newly erected Eleventh Judicial District Court. Upon his retirement from the bench, Judge Dessar resumed the practice of his profession. He is the author of the famous book "A Royal Enchantress."

DEYO, ROBERT E.—Municipal Civil Service Commissioner, born in 1843. Was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1894, and was appointed Civil Service Commissioner in the same year. He is and has been for a number of years a member of various committees of Tammany Hall.

DINNEAN, THOMAS P.—Lawyer, was born in this city in 1858. Prominent in political circles and a member of Tammany Hall for many years, and associate leader in Sixth Assembly District.

DIVVER, PATRICK.—Born in Ireland, in 1845, and coming to America when a mere child, Mr. Divver has always made New York his home and has become one of her most popular Democratic citizens. He has filled, consecutively, the offices of court officer, Alderman and Justice of the Police Court, to the satisfaction of the public and the people he has so faithfully served.

DOCHARTY, AUGUSTUS T.—Was born in the City of New York and was educated in the public schools and the college of his native city, where his father was noted as a professor of mathematics. At the beginning of his successful career he identified himself with Tammany Hall. In 1870 he was appointed clerk in the Comptroller's office, in 1872 he became Assistant Secretary of the Board of Apportionment, and afterward Contract Clerk in the Department of Public Works, and Deputy Register of the City and County of New York. In 1880 Tammany Hall Democracy nominated Mr. Docharty for Register, and he was elected by a larger majority than any candidate on the local ticket that year. Two thousand of New York's leading attorneys endorsed his administration of the affairs of the office. In 1889, and until 1895, he was Secretary of the Dock Commissioners, and on the first of January, 1898, he was appointed to his present position as Secretary of the Fire Department of New York, where his great experience has made his service indispensible and added to his hosts of friends.

DOERR, JOHN B.—Was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1842. He was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia. He first started in business with Mr. William Fiss in 1879. Mr. Doerr was instrumental in building up an immense trade in the sale of horses. He was the pioneer of selling fresh Western horses direct to the halter in New York City. The corporation founded by Mr. Doerr in 1895, the Fiss, Doerr & Carroll Horse Company, are the largest dealers in horses in the world. Mr. Doerr was a member of the Democratic Club, the Road Drivers' Association, the Lakewood Driving Club, of which he was one of the organizers, and an honorary member of the Freehold Driving Club. He died in 1901.

DONNELLY, THOMAS F.—Was born in Spring street, near the Bowery, in 1863, and was educated in the public schools and the College of the City of New York. He is a lawyer in active practice, and was graduated from Columbia College Law School with the class of 1884. He has been an active member of Tammany Hall for fifteen years, and has represented the Thirty-second Assembly District of New York City in the State Legislature during the years of 1896, 1897 and 1898. In 1898 he was the leader of the Democratic minority in the Assembly. Mr. Donnelly was elected to the State Senate from the Twentieth District for 1899-1900.

DONOHUE, MATTHEW F.—Deputy Commissioner of Sewers, was born in New York in 1867. Appointed to his present position in 1898. Although one of the youngest Democratic leaders in the Tammany organization, his conduct of the Twenty-first Assembly District has earned him the commendation of political friends and foes.

DOWLING, VICTOR J.—State Senator, was born in this city in 1866. Mr. Dowling was leader of the Twenty-fourth District in 1895, 1896, 1897, retiring in 1898. He was one of the Secretaries of the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall, and is at present a member of the Law Committee thereof. He has been a prominent and effective speaker in all Tammany campaigns. He is a member of the Democratic Club and of the Catholic Club, and is also interested in a number of fraternal societies.

DUGRO, P. HENRY—Justice of the Supreme Court, born in this city in 1855; was educated at Columbia College, in the class of 1876, and also at Columbia College Law School; elected to the Assembly in 1878, when twenty-three years of age; elected to Congress in 1880, and a Judge of the Superior Court in 1887. Transferred to Supreme Court in 1894. Elected Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall in 1885.

DUNLAP, COLONEL THOMAS.—One of the oldest and most respected members of the Tammany Democracy was lost when Thomas Dunlap died in 1896. Colonel Dunlap had served New York in many of the most important official stations—as Alderman, Naval Officer, Deputy Sheriff, Collector, Superintendent of Markets, Warden of Ludlow, etc.—in all of which he was conspicuous for honesty and faithfulness to every trust.

DUNN, THOMAS J.—The ex-Sheriff began life on a farm and was educated in the common schools. When old enough to learn a trade he chose that of a stone-cutter, and by economy and diligent application he saved enough money out of his wages to start in business for himself by the time he had reached the age of thirty years. Mr. Dunn's devotion to the plain, Democratic principals of Tammany Hall has been life-long.

EMMET, W. T.—School Commissioner Emmet is a New Yorker by birth, by education and by residence, having been born in Westchester County in 1869. He entered Columbia College at an early age, graduated from Columbia Law School in 1890 and began the practice of law in this city in 1891. In 1894 he was honored by being elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention at Albany and in 1900 he was appointed School Commissioner by Mayor Van Wyck. Mr. Emmet is a member of the Democratic Club, the Metropolitan Club, the Down-Town Association and the Bar Association.

ENGEL, MARTIN.—Councilman Martin Engel was born in the City of New York in the year 1847. He received his early education in the public schools of this city, graduating from Ward School No. 42 at the unusual age of thirteen. Immediately after his graduation he went to Europe and attended the University of Berlin for two years. After finishing his course of study in Berlin, Mr. Engel returned to this country and at once entered upon an active business career. He became associated with his brother Samuel, and they, under the name of Engel Brothers, carried on business for over thirty-five years. In 1896 Samuel died and Martin has carried on the business since. He has taken an active part in politics ever since reaching his majority and has been the leader of the Eighth Assembly District since the formation of the same. He was elected Councilman for the First District in 1897. Mr. Engel is popular socially and is a member of several prominent clubs and organizations.

ELY, SMITH—One of the oldest of the living ex-Mayors of New York is Smith Ely, who was born in New Jersey in 1825. Mr. Ely is a merchant and politician of prominence and has been identified with Tammany Hall since 1850. He has also held the offices of Supervisor, Trustee of Brooklyn Bridge, State Senator, Commissioner of Education, Presidential Elector, Congressman and Park Commissioner of the City of New York.

FAHRBACH, GEORGE H.—Deputy County Clerk, born in this city in 1863; appointed Recording Clerk, 1886-1888; Chief Application Clerk of the Excise Board, 1888-1890; Equity Clerk of the Supreme Court 1890-1898, when he was appointed to present position.

FAIRCHILD, JULIAN D.—Commissioner of the East River Bridge, born in Stratford, Conn., in 1850, and has been prominent in Brooklyn financial and political circles since 1875.

FALLON, JOSEPH P.—Justice of the Municipal Court, Ninth District, was born in Ireland in 1845, coming to America in 1849. He was educated in the public and Christian Brothers schools; elected Judge of the Ninth District in 1887; appointed a School Trustee Twelfth Ward, 1873-1875; elected to the Legislature in 1876; member of Tammany Hall General Committee, Catholic, Harlem Democratic, Democratic and Sagamore Clubs.

FANNING, WILLIAM J.—Born in Saratoga County, New York, and received his education at the Half Moon Institute, Middletown, N. Y., and the University of the City of New York. Mr. Fanning is a member of the Manhattan, Democratic and Catholic Clubs.

FARQUHAR, PERCIVAL—Born in York, Pa., and was educated at the York Collegiate Institute, and subsequently in Yale College. He was graduated from Yale in 1884, with the degree of Ph. B. He then began the study of law at Columbia Law School, being graduated with high honors, and was admitted to the bar in 1886. He has always taken an active interest in politics, and in 1889 was a candidate for Member of Assembly from the Third Assembly District. He was defeated in that campaign, but the following year was elected by a majority of 2,000. He was re-elected in 1891 and again in 1892, by a still larger majority.

FEATHERSON, MAURICE—Represents the Eighteenth District in the State Senate. He was born in this city in 1862, and was educated in the public schools. At the election of 1895 he was the candidate of the regular Democratic organization for the senate in the district which he now represents. He received altogether 11,221 votes, as against 5,333 cast for J. Philip Berg the Republican candidate; 1,408 for Richard Morton, who was backed by the Socialist Labor party, and 603 for James Meehan, who had the backing of the State Democracy.

FEITNER, THOMAS L.—Grand Sachem of Tammany Society, was born in this city in 1847; was appointed Commissioner of Taxes by Mayor Edson in 1883, and reappointed by Mayor Grant in 1889; appointed Police Justice by Mayor Gilroy in 1893 and again appointed President Department of Taxes by Mayor Van Wyck in 1898. Mr. Feitner has filled nearly every position of importance in the Tammany organization during the last twenty years. He has been a Sachem of the Tammany Society for ten years and was elected Grand Sachem in 1897.

FELLOWS, JOHN R.—A brilliant Democratic leader and Tammany orator was John R. Fellows, the able District Attorney of New York, who died in the midst of his usefulness as a citizen and a valued and devoted member of Tammany. Mr. Fellows was elected and re-elected to Congress; was the first to nominate that great Democrat, Horatio Seymour, for President; was a winner in hundreds of famous cases at law and always stood for the people, sound money and home rule in the City of New York.

FITZGERALD, FRANK T.—One of the two Surrogates of New York, was the first Surrogate ever elected for a term of fourteen years, was born in the First Ward of this city and was educated in St. Francis Xavier's College, in this city, and in St. Mary's College, Niagara Falls. He was graduated from Columbia College Law School in 1878, and afterward pursued his legal studies in the office of Smith M. Weed and the late Gen. James W. Huested. He was elected to represent the old Sixth Congressional District in Congress in 1888, and long before his term was completed he was elected Register of the county. This was in 1889. Judge Fitzgerald was a delegate from the Eighth Senatorial District to the last Constitutional Convention, and was a member of the Committee on Cities and Taxation. He is a member of the Manhattan, Catholic and Democratic Clubs and Press Club.

FITZGERALD, JAMES.—Judge of the Supreme Court, was born in Limirick, Ireland, forty-seven years ago. He attended the De La Salle Institute for more advanced studies and at the age of sixteen he went into the mercantile business. Shortly after reaching his majority he was elected to the Assembly from the old Sixteenth District. While clerk in the County Clerk's office he studied law and later graduated from the Columbia Law School. In 1883 he was appointed Deputy Assistant District Attorney and was Assistant District Attorney under District Attorneys Martine and Fellows. In 1889 he was elected Judge of the Court of General Sessions, and in 1897 he was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court.

FITZPATRICK, RICHARD.—Is one of the most popular and most charitable residents of the Ninth District. He was born on Thirteenth street in 1859 and became the associate leader of his ward, and is one of the favorite members of Tammany Hall.

FITZSIMONS, JAMES M.—Judge of the City Court, born in this city 1858; is a graduate of Columbia College Law School; was elected Alderman from Eighteenth District, and in 1889 served as Vice-President of the Board; appointed Judge of the City Court in 1890, and elected to succeed himself in 1891.

FOX, JOHN—Merchant, born in Fredriekton, New Brunswick, 1835; member of Tammany Hall since 1856, and has served on all principal committees; always a prominent and leading figure in Democratic circles. At various times has held the offices of Alderman, Supervisor, Congressman and Senator.

FREEDMAN, ANDREW.—This thorough New Yorker was born in this city in 1860 and is one of the best-known men of the metropolis. He was educated in our schools, the St. Aloysius Academy and College of the City of New York. He is a large dealer in real estate and an expert in real estate law. His influence has ever been exerted for the Democratic cause and he is a leading member of many metropolitan societies such as the Lawyers' Club, Democratic Club, president of the New York Baseball Club, and a general favorite in political and social organizations.

FREEDMAN, JOHN J.—Justice of Supreme Court, was born in Nuremberg, Germany, in 1835; came to New York in 1851; appointed Justice of the Superior Court in 1869; elected in 1869 for a full term of six years; elected for a full term of fourteen years in 1876, re-elected in 1890; transferred by the consolidation, in 1896, to Supreme Court.

FROMBERG, ABRAHAM M.—Was born in Elmira, N. Y., in 1872, and received his early education in the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, Towanda, Pa. He attended the Lehigh University for two years, and then came to this city and read law for four years with ex-Judge Van Hoesen. Meantime he attended the New York Law School, being graduated with the degree of L.L. B. He was admitted to the bar in 1893.

FROMME. ISAAC.—Register Fromme was born in the City of New York, August 4, 1854; was educated in the public schools and graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1874, and two years later from Columbia College Law School. For almost a quarter of a century he has practiced his profession. Mr. Fromme was one of the organizers of the Real Estate Exchange, serving as secretary and director for a number of years. He is also examining counsel of the Lawyers' Title Insurance Company. He was made a Mason twenty years' ago, and is well and favorably known in Masonic circles as the Past Master of Hope Lodge and one of its trustees. He is Past Grand Master of the Lodge of Perfection and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. He is a member of Mount Horeb Lodge, Free Sons of Israel, is Past President of the Zion Lodge No. 2 of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith, and Ex-Governor of the Home of the Aged and Infirm Hebrews, at Yonkers; is a member of the West Side Association and the West End Club; also of Mount Sinai Hospital, Montefiore Home, the German Society of New York and the Elizabeth Home; also of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, and the Pontiac and Narragansett Clubs. Mr. Fromme was elected Register of New York County in 1897 by an overwhelming majority.

GAGE, WELLESLEY, W.—Was born in Hamilton, Canada, fifty years ago. After coming to the States, Mr. Gage graduated from the Law School at Albany with the degree of L.L. B. and was immediately admitted to the Bar in New York and also to the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Gage is a strong and consistent Tammany Hall Democrat, and is a member of the General Committee, as also a life member of the New England Society and of the Columbian Order of Tammany. He is a strenuous advocate of local self-government, insisting that by home-rule only can true Democracy and a Republican form of government be perpetuated in our cities and the several States.

GARDINER, COL. ASA BIRD—Was born in this city in 1839. He is a member of the Union, the Metropolitan, the Manhattan, the Democratic, West Point, Seventh Regiment Veteran, and Delta Kappa Epsilon Clubs. The Colonel is also a simon-pure Democrat, and as such, is in succession to his father and grandfather, a member of Tammany Hall General Committee for the First Assembly District. He is also a member of and Sachem in the Tammany Society.

GERRY, COMMODORE ELDRIDGE T.—Born in New York, 1837; a graduate of Columbia College; a lawyer of great prominence; founder of "The Gerry Society" for the prevention of cruelty to children; Commodore of the New York Yacht Club, Eldridge T. Gerry is a conspicuous figure in the history of New York. His life-work in behalf of the children of the poor is an evidence of his humanity and Democracy as well.

GILDERSLEEVE, HENRY ALGER—Soldier, jurist, sportsman, and, at one time, the finest rifle shot in America, was born in Dutchess County, New York, on August 1, 1840. In 1875 he was elected Judge of the Court of General Sessions. His term expired in 1889. But in 1891 he was called back to the bench by Governor Hill, who appointed him a Justice of the Superior Court. In the fall of the same year he was elected to succeed himself for the full term of fourteen years, from January, 1892. Under the Constitution of 1894 he was transferred to the Supreme Court, and there presides at the present time.

GILON, COL. EDWARD—Was born in New York City August 11, 1838, and was educated in the common schools of his native city. Col. Gilon has held several important positions, among others that of Alderman. From 1876 to 1880 he held the important office of Collector of Assessments and Clerk of Arrears. From 1880 to 1894 he was Chairman of the Board of Assessors. In February, 1894, he was returned to the duties he had so capably fulfilled, and was appointed to his old position which he now fills so creditably, that of Collector of Assessments and Clerk of Arrears. Col. Gilon has been for many years identified with the Democratic party in this city, and has done much to advance its cause.

GOLDFOGLE, HENRY M.—Municipal Court Justice, was born in this city in 1856. While taking an active interest in politics and always recognized as an ardent Democrat, Judge Goldfogle never held any office, other than one on the bench, though on various occasions he was proffered the nominations for Assembly and Congress, which he declined. He has been a delegate to every Democratic State Convention since 1877, and was an alternate to the National Convention which last nominated Mr. Cleveland for the Presidency, and also a delegate to the National Convention of the Democracy at Chicago in 1896.

GORDON, JAMES LINDSAY.—Ex-Deputy Assistant District Attorney, born in Virginia; has practiced law in New York since 1893, and is a member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall for the Twenty-fifth District.

GRACE, WILLIAM R.—Former Mayor Grace was born in Ireland in 1833 and came to America at the age of fourteen. He became prominent as a business man, and, later, as a politician, and in 1880 was elected to the Mayor's office to which he was also re-elected in 1884. For years he was the acknowledged head of the Democratic party of New York.

GRADY, THOMAS FRANCIS—Senator Thomas Francis Grady, the noted politician and successful lawyer, was born in New York City in November, 1853. He was elected a member of the Tammany Society in 1877, and has been a leading and conspicuous member of Tammany Hall since 1875, serving on Committees of Organization, Resolutions and Correspondence and Committee on Law and Executive Affairs. Senator Grady's district is the Twentieth—formerly the Second—and he has been member of Assembly, 1877 to 1879; Senator, 1882, 1883, 1889, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899 and 1900, as well as Police Justice, 1891 to 1895. He is a celebrity who has been prominent in every Presidential and State campaign since he became of age. Tammany Hall and Grady have always led to victory.

GRELL, WILLIAM F.—Sheriff Grell was born in Germany in 1852. His residence during his business and social career has been in New York City. Solely by his own efforts Mr. Grell has attained his present high standing in the community. He is widely-known in the business and social circles throughout the city. Mr. Grell's fitness for public office has been proved by his record in office as a Tax Commissioner. To the untiring efforts of Mr. Grell is due the establishment of that splendid monument of German generosity, the "Altenheim" (Home for the aged), which from the top of the Palisades overlooks New York as well as New Jersey. Mr. Grell is as prominent in social circles as he is in the political world. He is a member of the Eichenkranz, Amt Hadler Club, the Amt Achin Club and the New York Schutzen Corps, and about 150 other societies and clubs. He was elected Sheriff of New York County in 1899.

GREEN, ANDREW H.—Andrew Haswell Green is a native of Worcester, Mass.; a student of law, and partner with Samuel J. Tilden in New York, and held some of the highest offices in the city, as president of the Board of Education, Park Commissioner, Comptroller, president of the commission for the creation of Greater New York, of which for years he was the advocate and the acknowledged "Father." Mr. Green is also a director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Historical Society, the State Bar Association, and many more of like importance.

GUGGENHEIMER, RANDOLPH—President of the Council, New York City, was born in Lynchburg, Va., in 1848, and came here when a boy. Educated in the public schools, he completed his studies privately, and finally graduated from the Law School of the University of New York. He was admitted to the bar in 1869. In 1888 Mr. Guggenheimer was appointed a member of the Board of Education. He was elected to his present position in 1897.

GUMBLETON, HENRY A.—Was born in the City of New York September 14, 1846. He has at various times held important positions in the public service; he was elected County Clerk in 1876, was a Sachem of the Tammany Society for several years prior to 1886, and was a member of the Board of Assessors. He is a lawyer and has been engaged in the active practice of his profession for the last sixteen years.

GUY, CHARLES L.—Ex-State Senator, lawyer, orator, club man, was born in New York and received the earlier part of his educational training in the public schools of this city; attended the College of the City of New York, after which he studied medicine in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and later got his legal training in the Columbia College Law School and the law offices of Elihu Root. After admission to the bar in 1881, Mr. Guy was appointed law assistant to the Surrogate of New York County, but resigned in 1893, having been elected to the Senate from the Thirteenth District. An active Democrat since 1877, Senator Guy has always taken an enthusiastic interest in local, State and national issues.

HABERMAN, FREDERICK.—From the Twenty-ninth Assembly District of New York, has been a Democrat ever since he was naturalized in 1864. He is a Bavarian by birth, but came to New York when a boy, was an apprentice at the tinner's bench, and rose to be head of a manufacturing establishment employing fifteen hundred men.

HAFFEN, LOUIS F.—President of the Borough of the Bronx, was born in 1854 in Melrose, Westchester County. He graduated from Columbia College School of Mines as Civil Engineer in 1879. He studied previously at St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y., and at Niagara College, receiving the groundwork of his education at a German private school and the local public school. He entered the active practice of civil engineering after finishing at Columbia College, and in a short time made a practical study of mines in Colorado, California and Arizona. On his return to New York he resumed the work of a city surveyor and civil engineer in Melrose. He afterward became Superintendent of Parks of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards. In 1893 he was appointed Commissioner of Street Improvements of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards by Mayor Gilroy, and in the fall of that year was elected to the same position. He held the office of Commissioner of Street Improvements until December 31, 1897 when it was abolished. In 1897 he was elected President of the Borough of the Bronx.

HANNEMAN, LOUIS—Ex-Corporation Attorney of the City of New York, was born in 1858 in this city. Mr. Hanneman has always been actively identified with the Democratic party, and for many years, until 1886, he was Secretary of the Tammany Hall General Committee. He is a member of the Committee on organization. He is a member of the Tammany Club, the Gravesend Bay Yacht Club, the Masonic Order, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Royal Arcanum, Eichen-Kranz Singing Society, Municipal Art Society and the Columbian Order.

HARDY, CHARLES J.—Lawyer, has been a member of Tammany Hall for the past ten years, and was elected a member of Tammany Society in 1899. Is also a member of Democratic, Liederkranz and Catholic Clubs, and of a number of college societies.

HARRIS, SIDNEY—Was born in New York City in 1866; son of Miriam Coles Harris, author of "Rutledge," etc., and the late Sidney S. Harris; educated at St. Paul School, Concord, N. H., and Columbia College; admitted to the bar in 1889. Member of the Union Club, St. Anthony Club and Democratic Club.

HASCALL, THEODORE F.—Justice of the City Court, was born at Leroy, Genesee County, this State. Mr. Hascall—who has always been a stanch Democrat—became connected with Tammany Hall in 1876 and has since continuously served upon its various committees in the Seventh, Third, Tenth and Twenty-fifth Districts. He was elected to the City Court in 1898.

HASSETT, EDWARD—Lawyer, received his education in the public schools of Bath, N. Y., and was admitted to the bar of the State of New York at Rochester in 1882. Since his establishment in the metropolis, Mr. Hassett has been connected with and engaged in litigation involving very large and valuable interests. He is a member of the Bar Association of the City of New York, and a prominent member of several other associations and clubs in the city.

HAYES, NICHOLAS J.—First Deputy City Clerk, was born in Troy, N. Y., in 1854; educated at Bryant & Stratton's Business College and St. Francis Xavier College; appointed Clerk of the Superior Court in 1886, transferred to Supreme Court 1896, and appointed to his present position in 1898; is a member of the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall.

HAYS, DANIEL P.—Lawyer, born in Westchester County in 1854, has always been an active Democrat, and in 1893 was appointed Commissioner of Appraising, relative to the changing of grades in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards, and the same year was made Civil Service Commissioner, and elected Chairman of the Board. He is a member of the Democratic, Lawyers', Reform, Sagamore and Harlem Democratic Clubs, being President of the latter organization for two years.

HERTLE, JOHN C.—Commissioner Hertle is a native of New York and is of German parentage. After completing his common school education in New York City, he entered and graduated from one of our best business colleges of which he was afterwards principal. Later he went into the mercantile business. In 1898 Mayor Van Wyck appointed him to the very important office of Commissioner of Accounts. Mr. Hertle is a member of the Tammany Society and the Democratic Club.

HILL, GEORGE.—Was born May 5th, 1845, at Rochdale, England. He came to New York City in 1853. Was prepared for college at Phillip's Exeter Academy in Exeter, N. H., graduating in the class of 1865. He then entered Harvard College and there graduated in the class of 1869. Subsequently he took up a course in Harvard Law School. Since 1870 he has been a resident of this city. On January 1st, 1871 he became managing clerk for the law firm of Devlin, Miller & Trull, and remained in that position until May, 1875, when he started a law practice of his own, having been admitted to the bar in February, 1872. He was afterwards admitted to practice in the United States Courts for the Southern District of New York and the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Hill became a member of Tammany Hall and the Columbian Order in 1884. He was appointed by Hon. John Whalen in February, 1898, to the office of Assistant Corporation Counsel, which office he still holds. He is a member of the Executive Committee in the Twenty-fifth District.

HOES, WM. M.—Public Administrator of the County of New York, born in this State; at Kinderhook, Columbia County, 1840; educated at Kinderhook Academy and Williams College and Columbia Law School; member of the Holland Society, Down-Town, Manhattan, Democratic and University Clubs, Bar Association of the City of New York, American Geographical Society, Williams College Alumni Association and Past Master of Kane Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons.

HOFFMAN, BENJAMIN—Member of the Assembly from the Sixteenth Assembly District, was born in the Eleventh Ward, this city, in 1862. He attended Grammar School No. 15, and after being graduated therefrom took a law course and entered the law office of Judge Alfred Steckler. He then formed a partnership with his brother, Charles L. Hoffman, under the firm name of Hoffman & Hoffman. In Tammany circles, Mr. Hoffman holds a prominent position. Mr. Hoffman has been a member of Assembly for five terms, and at the recent election was elected without opposition as Justice of the Municipal Court, Fifth District. He has been Secretary of the Tammany Hall General Committee of the old Sixth Assembly District. He is also a member of the Eleventh Ward League, Democratic Club, Tammany Society, the Jefferson Club, the Seminole Club and the John F. Ahearn Association. Besides these social and political clubs, he is also a prominent and active member of the Gad Lodge, I. O. O. F.; the Gottlieb Lodge, A. I.; Max Kahn Lodge, I. O. S. B.; American Star Lodge, the American Legion of Honor, Adelphi Lodge 23, F. A. M.

HOLAHAN, MAURICE F.—President Board of Public Improvements, was born in 1848; has been in both branches of the State Legislature—as a member of the lower house and Clerk of the Senate; Chief of Customs in the Treasury Department; Chief Special Agent of the Treasury Department for New York, Connecticut and New Jersey; appointed Commissioner of Accounts of the city in 1889, and Deputy Commissioner Public Works in 1890. Mr. Holahan has been a member of Tammany Hall for twenty-five years, and for many years was Scribe of Tammany Society.

HOLLY, WILLIS.—Was born July 4th, 1854, in Stamford, Conn. In early life he was a prominent newspaper man. First office held in New York was that of Secretary and Chief Clerk in Mayor's office, to which he was appointed in 1891 by Mayor Grant, and in which he continued under Mayor Gilroy. Was appointed Secretary of Park Board in 1898. He is a member of Tammany Society, of General and Executive Committees, being at present a member of the Executive Committee in the Twenty-fifth District.

HOPPER, ISAAC A.—A stanch and loyal Democrat, who has engaged in the erection of some of the largest buildings in the city, among them being the Emigrant Savings Bank, Carnegie Hall, Academy of the Sacred Heart, the New Netherlands Hotel, the Third Avenue Bridge, the three power-houses of the Third Avenue Cable Road, the Commmercial Hotel and the Spingler Building at Union Square. He also constructed the three and one-half miles of cable road for the Third Avenue Company, the lattter involving an expenditure of more than a million dollars. Mayor Grant appointed Mr. Hopper a member of the Board of Education in 1891, but finding that his health was not of the best and his business engagements too pressing, he resigned in 1893 Tammany leader in the Thirty-first Assembly District; is now President Twelfth Ward Bank and the Empire City Savings Bank.

HORWITZ, OTTO—Was born in Berlin, Germany, and educated there and at the New York City College, this city. He has long taken an active interest in Democratic politics in this city and is a member of numerous clubs and associations.

HOTCHKISS, HENRY D.—Was born at Albany, N. Y. He began the study of law in the office of David B. Hill, at Elmira. Subsequently came to the city of New York and entered the office of James C. Carter. Was elected to Assembly from Eleventh District of Kings in 1886, winning by a plurality of 221 over Republican opponent in a total vote of 22,000, the normal Republican majority being about 4,000. Declined a renomination. Was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1894.

HOTTENROTH, ADOLPH C.—Member of the City Council from the Borough of the Bronx, City of New York and the New York University, and is a member of the law firm of Gumbleton & Hottenroth. In 1894 Mr. Hottenroth was one of the youngest members of the Constitutional Convention, representing practically the same district that he now represents in the Municipal Council of Greater New York, besides the Counties of Westchester and Putnam.

JACKSON, CHARLES A.—Was born in New York City in 1843. He was educated in the Fishkill Academy, Fishkill, N. Y., and Columbia College Law School. He graduated in 1859, was admitted to the bar in 1863 and has practiced law in this city ever since. In 1879 he was nominated for State Senator against William Waldorf Astor and was defeated, but he succeeded in cutting down a Republican majority of 10,000 to 4,000. In 1881 he was offered the nomination for Surrogate on the City Democracy ticket but declined it. He was appointed Inspector of Schools by Mayor Grace. In 1899 he was appointed Commissioner of Change of Grade by Mayor Van Wyck. He has been a member of the Tammany Society for twenty-five years and the Society of Cincinnati for ten years. Mr. Jackson is a member of the Democratic and Manhattan Clubs and a member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall from the Twenty-seventh Assembly District.

JENKINS, WILLIAM T., M. D.—Health Commissioner, was born in Holly Springs, Miss., October 25, 1855; educated at the University of Mississippi and University of Virginia; came to New York in 1878; has served as Coroner's Physician from 1880 to January, 1892; Health Officer of Port from February, 1892, to January, 1895; Health Commissioner and Chairman of Sanitary Committee, of Board of Health, member State Board of Health by appointment of Governor Theodore Roosevelt, January, 1899.

JOSEPH, HERMAN.—Judge, lawyer and good Democrat, born in this city in 1858, and received his early education in the public schools and the University of New York, graduating from the latter institution with the class of '77. He is a brother-in-law of Judge John H. McCarthy, and has always been a Democrat in politics.

KEARNEY, EDWARD.—Mr. Kearney, who was born in Ireland, 1830, was educated in New York, and throughout his life was prominent in the business and political life of New York. He made a fine record as a soldier, as a successful business man and as a favorite member of Tammany Hall. He was Richard Croker's lieutenant in the Eighteenth Assembly District, and as a Democrat and a man was respected for his integrity and ability.

KEARNEY, JAMES—Lawyer, in the new St. Paul Building. Mr. Kearney has many friends and is a well known man in both social and legal circles.

KEENAN, PATRICK—Was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1837. The fascination of politics seized upon Mr. Keenan when young. He has always been a stanch Democrat. He became a member of the County Democracy in 1880, and continued until 1890, when he joined Tammany Hall. He has been leader of the Sixteenth District ever since. His first official position was attained in 1872, when he was thirty-five years old, being then elected to the Board of Assistant Aldermen, and he continued to be a member of that body until it was abolished in 1874. Subsequently, in 1875, he was elected to the Board of Aldermen, and he served for six years, until 1882, when he attained a still higher office by his election to County Clerk. Mr. Keenan was appointed to his present position, City Chamberlain, in 1898.

KELLER, JOHN W.—President Board of Charities, born in Kentucky in 1856; educated at Yale College; came to New York in 1879; journalist by occupation; ex-President New York Press Club; President Democratic Club; appointed to present position in 1898. Member of Executive Committee of Tammany Hall and Chairman of Committee on Printing. He is a Sachem of the Tammany Society

KENNELLY, BRYAN L.—Real estate auctioneer and appraiser, was born in New York City in 1865. Mr. Kennelly was the founder of the first Democratic club on the West Side, between Fifty-ninth and One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Streets, which was organized in Ninety-fifth street, in 1890; afterward being instrumental in amalgamating said club into what is now the celebrated Pontiac Club, the Tammany Hall club of the district, of which club he has been Vice-President. He represented Tammany Hall from the Nineteenth Assembly District on Adjutant-General Josiah Porter's staff at the inauguration of Grover Cleveland in Washington, March 4, 1893. He is a member of the Colonial Club, New York Athletic Democratic and Catholic Clubs, and Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Pontiac Club of the Nineteenth Assembly District, and the West End Association.

KENNY, WILLIAM JOHN KNIGHT—This popular editor and political manager was born in New York, in 1851. He is President of the Securities Advertising Agency and has been prominently identified with Tammany Hall politics for fifteen years, serving on Organization, General and District Committees and as Supervisor of the City Record. He assisted in managing the Mayoralty campaign of Hugh J. Grant and Robert A. Van Wyck, and has been at different periods city editor New York *Herald*, law reporter and political writer New York *Times*, city editor *Journal* and New York *Press*. In 1898 Mr. Kenny managed the campaign which resulted in the election of William Astor Chanler to Congress.

KING, VINCENT C., SR.—A life-long member of the Tammany Society, born in Wilton, Saratoga County, N. Y., and came to New York at the age of two years. Entering the employ of his father in the manufacture of plaster, he remained in the same business under the firm name of V. C. & C. V. King until his death in 1882. Mr. King was a pioneer Democrat of the old Ninth Ward, a foreman of No. 23 Volunteer Hose, a member of the Legislature and a Commissioner of the New York Fire Department. His son Vincent C. King, Jr., continues the business.

KNOX, CHARLES H.—President of the Municipal Board of Civil Service Commissioners, was born in this city, and is now in his forty-sixth year. He is a lawyer and the senior member of the law firm of Knox and Woodward. In 1884 he ran for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, but was defeated. In 1891 he was appointed by Mayor Grant as a School Commissioner, and was reappointed by Mayor Gilroy in 1894. In January, 1894, the Board of Education chose him as President, and again in 1895. He resigned in July, 1895. In 1896 he became a member of Tammany Hall. Mr. Knox was appointed Civil Service Commissioner by Mayor Van Wyck, and is President of the Board.

LA FETRA, EDWARD B.—Lawyer, born in Eatontown, N. J., in 1866, and has been a member of Tammany Hall for twelve years, serving on Committee on Organization and General Committee; member of Assembly from Eighteenth Assembly District in 1894-95.

LANE, SMITH E.—Born in this city in 1829; was educated at the University of the City of New York, and admitted to the bar in 1852. Has been actively engaged in politics since 1852 with the Democratic party, frequently a delegate to the State Conventions, an old member of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, and a member of the Tammany Hall General Committee for thirty years. Appointed a Park Commissioner in 1878 for five years, and in 1898 appointed Commissioner of the new East River Bridge, subsequently being elected Secretary.

LANTRY FRANCIS J.—Has always been a Tammany Hall Democrat. He was elected Alderman in the year 1892, and was re-elected two years later; at the expiration of his second term he was appointed by Mayor Van Wyck Commissioner of Correction. He was born January 8, 1859, and was formerly connected with the meat industry. He was Master Workman of Local Assembly 9,797, and was Delegate to District Assembly 49 for three years.

LARDNER, WILLIAM J.—was born in this city in 1858, received his education at St. Francis Xavier College and the University of the City of New York. Mr. Lardner cast his first vote in 1879 for the late John Kelly, Democratic candidate for Governor, and has since been a strict Tammany Hall man. He has been on the General Committee of the Sixteenth Assembly District (now the Eighteenth). He never held public office, except that of Deputy Attorney-General conferred upon him as a personal compliment by Mr. Croker.

LEVENTRITT, DAVID—Justice of Supreme Court, born in South Carolina in 1845; came to New York in 1854; has been a prominent member of Tammany Hall for many years and a lawyer of national reputation; elected Justice of Supreme Court in 1898.

LEVEY, EDGAR J.—Was born in this city in 1863; graduated from Columbia College in 1883 and from Columbia Law School in 1886; appointed Secretary to the Comptroller in 1891; Assistant Deputy Comptroller in 1893, and Deputy Comptroller in 1898.

LEWIS, JOHN M.—Born in Malden, N. Y., in 1837, and educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, Williams College, and New York University; admitted to the bar in 1858; appointed Assistant District Attorney in 1894. He served in the War of the Rebellion and is a member of Lafayette Post, G. A. R., Manhattan Club, Larchmont Yacht Club, Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of Connecticut, and the Veteran Association and Society of War Veterans of the Seventh Regiment. Mr. Lewis has been for many years a member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall.

LOGAN, WALTER S.—Was born at Washington, Conn., in 1847. Graduated from Yale in Class of 1870; from Harvard Law School in 1871, and from Columbia Law School, 1872, being one of the few holding sheepskins from three of our great universities. Began practice of law in office of James C. Carter, assisting Charles O'Connor in the famous Jumel case, and prizes his association with these great lawyers beyond measure. Mr. Logan has been engaged in many noted litigations in the State and United States Courts, and is President of the New York State Bar Association and Chairman of Committee on Commercial Law of American Association, and member of numerous literary, social and political organizations.

LYDECKER, CHARLES EDWARD.—This popular lawyer was born in New York City, 1851; was educated in the City College and graduated from the Columbia College Law School in 1871 and was admitted to the bar in 1873. He has tried many important cases and is a member of the Manhattan, Reform, Lawyers', Underwriters', Bar Association, and life member of the State Bar of New York. In military life he held rank of Major in the Seventh Regiment, of which he was a member twenty-seven years.

MARTIN, BERNARD F.—State Senator Bernard F. Martin was born in Ireland in 1845 and came to New York in 1849. He received his early education in the public schools of this city and immediately after leaving school he entered upon an active business career, beginning as an employee in the office of Isaac Lohman, wholesale commission merchant. In 1861, at the first call for volunteers, he responded nobly, enlisting in the Thirty-seventh New York. After the war Mr. Martin took a position with the New York News Company as manager of the wholesale department, which position he occupied until 1870. He was clerk of the Health Department from 1875 to 1880. In that year he became leader of what was then the Seventh District. He was then successively Alderman, Coroner, Order of Arrest Clerk, Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, Commissioner of Jurors, Police Justice and then Senator. He is still leader of his district, now the Fifth.

MCADAM, DAVID—One of the best known Judges of the Supreme Court, was born in this city in 1838; admitted to the bar in 1859, and elected upon the Democratic ticket as Justice of the Marine Court in 1873, and re-elected in 1879 and 1885. In 1890 he was elected a Judge of the Superior Court, now the Supreme Court, where he still presides. He is an eloquent speaker and lecturer, and has given valuable aid to the party, both on the platform and as an adviser.

MCADAM, THOMAS.—Lawyer, born in this city in 1863, son of Hon. David McAdam, of the Supreme Court bench; takes an active interest in politics, and for a number of years was a member of Tammany Hall General Committee from the old Thirteenth District.

MCCALL, A. O.—Clerk of the Supreme Court, Mr. A. O. McCall, was born in the City of Albany on the 14th day of July, 1865. He received his primary education in the public schools of Albany and graduated from the Albany High School, class of 1885. Immediately after his graduation Mr. McCall began the study of law in the office of Hon. D. Cady Herrick now a Justice of the Supreme Court, and subsequently studied in the offices of Peckham, Rosendale & Hessberg. After two years' course in the New York University he received the degree of LL.B. from that institution. In 1889 County Clerk Edward Reilly appointed Mr. McCall a clerk of the Supreme Court. The Appellate Division subsequently reappointed him, and he still holds that important position.

MCCALL, EDWARD E.—Was born in Albany, the capital city, in January, 1863, and has been a resident of this city for the past twenty years. He attended the University of the City of New York and graduated from the law school of that college. Mr. McCall has the reputation of being one of the best real estate lawyers in the United States, having had the distinction of being connected with three of the largest insurance companies in the world, and in each of the three being in charge of the real estate interests. He was first connected with the Mutual, then with the Equitable, and latterly with the New York Life Insurance Company. Mr. McCall is a member of various social and political organizations and is a member of the Tammany Society.

MCCARTHY, JOHN HENRY—Judge of the City Court; was a member of the Assembly in 1880 and also in 1881, and he was the only Democrat on three committees, the Judiciary, second highest committee in 1880 and 1881, the Committee on Two-Thirds Bills, composed of the Speaker, Husted, and the leading members of the Assembly, and Trades and Manufactures. In the fall of 1889 he again ran against Timothy J. Campbell, who was then Congressman, and who had the Republican and Democratic nominations for the Fifty-first Congress, which was presided over by Speaker Reed, and was elected by over 5,800 majority. In 1891 he was appointed by Governor Hill as City Court Judge, and elected in 1892 and again re-elected in 1897 for ten years, receiving the largest majority on the ticket, except Dunn, who ran for Sheriff, who received about 1,500 votes more. McCarthy's majority was over 91,000. He was the only one from New York on the Joint Committee in the Legislature on the first street cleaning law, which was passed while Grace was Mayor. He was also all through the Conklin and Platt contest in January, 1881, which lasted from January of that year to July of the same.

MCCARTNEY, JAMES—Was born in the old Twenty-first Ward in 1858, and educated in the public schools; appointed Superintendent of Engineering Department of the Department of Public Works by Allen Campbell; was appointed Street Cleaning Commissioner in 1897 by Mayor Van Wyck. Died in 1900.

McCLELLAND, JAMES D.—Ex-Assistant District Attorney, born in this city in 1843; educated in public schools; graduated from Mount Washington Collegiate Institute and New York University; has devoted himself to the practice of criminal law, and has, as a legislator, introduced many reforms into the Criminal Codes, notably the amendment providing for bail at station houses at all hours of the night. He has been an active worker in the interests of Tammany Hall for many years. Served in the Legislature 1882-83.

McCLURE, DAVID—Was born at Dobbs Ferry, Westchester County, N. Y., in 1848. He studied law and was admitted to the bar at about the time he reached his majority, in 1869, and has been engaged in the active practice of his profession for thirty years. Mr. McClure is a popular club man, being a prominent member of the Manhattan and Democratic Clubs, and also of the Bar Association.

McINTYRE, JOHN F.—Ex-Assistant District Attorney, was born in this city in 1855. His education was obtained in the public schools and in St. Francis Xavier's College. Being graduated from the latter in 1877 with high honors, he immediately entered public life, and in 1886 he was elected to the Legislature from the old Twenty-second Assembly District. On his return from his legislative services at Albany, Mr. McIntyre became cousel to the Comptroller of New York City, and upon the election of Delancy Nicoll to the District Attorney's office he was appointed by Nicoll as his assistant, and subsequently he was reappointed by Col. John R. Fellows and Col. Gardiner. Mr. McIntyre has been an active member of Tammany Hall for a number of years, and has been a delegate to all of the Democratic State Conventions and to two National Conventions of the party. He is a member of the Manhattan, Democratic and Algonquin Clubs and of many Irish societies.

McKEAN, JOHN BELL.—Justice McKean was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1838. Coming to New York when fifteen he engaged in mercantile pursuits for some years, when he was appointed Clerk of the Supreme Court Circuit, Part I. While serving in this capacity he was admitted to the Bar in 1864. Was afterwards appointed Clerk in Police Court, where he served many years, until Governor Hill, in 1889, appointed him Justice of the Seventh Judicial District Court. One year thereafter the people elected him to fill the unexpired term of Justice Monell by a plurality of 2,010 votes, and re-elected him in 1893 by a plurality of 6,589. In 1899 he was appointed Justice of Special Sessions, First Division, which position he now holds. The Judge is an old and honored member of Tammany, of the Democratic, Algonquin and other clubs and benevolent and social organizations.

McQUADE, JOHN—Forty-eight years a Tammany man, former Police Justice, former chief of Tammany Hall, former Alderman, was born in Ireland on Christmas Day, 1827. His parents brought him to America two years later. He was the Father of the Council and a Sachem of the Tammany Society for many years. When Mr. Richard Croker resigned the Chairmanship of the Finance Committee of that body, Mr. McQuade was chosen to succeed him. In 1868 he was elected, and in 1869 re-elected, as Alderman from the Yorkville district, where he still resides. From 1870 to 1872 he served as Police Justice, until legislated out of office. He was leader of the old Twenty-second Assembly District, and as such organized the Jefferson, now the Algonquin Club, of which he is still a member. He was elected Treasurer of the Tammany organization in 1890.

MEYER, CORD, JR.—As a successful business man and Democratic politician the name of Cord Meyer is a household word in New York. He was born at Newtown in 1854 and is a resident of Maspeth, L. I. He has been a leader in State politics, a member of the State Executive Committee, and held various high offices as a tribute from his friends, the people.

MEYER, PETER F.—Was born in New York in the year 1842. He received a limited school education and began life as a Central Park water boy. In 1862 Mr. Meyer started in the real estate business at 111 Broadway, and has remained there since. Mayor Van Wyck appointed him Commissioner of Docks and Ferries in 1897. Mr. Meyer is treasurer of the Tammany Society, a member of the New York Athletic, Democratic, Olympic and Sagamore Clubs.

MINSKY, LOUIS.—Louis Minsky was born in Germany, but came to America while yet a youth. He is a graduate of both a German school and a Hebrew college, and thoroughly versed in the literature of both these languages, in addition to his perfect acquaintance with English letters. Early trained to business habits by his father, a successful merchant in Germany, Mr. Minsky, with a small capital united with untiring energy, began business for himself in 1880, and by perseverance and the exercise of good practical ideas has built his business to a great success. Mr. Minsky is a supporter and director in many charitable societies including the Montefoire Home for Aged Hebrews, Mt. Sinai Hospital, Lebanon Hospital, Beth Israel Hospital, Hebrew Charities and Correction, Hebrew Gemilleth Chasodin Association, Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Malboth Arumim.

MITCHELL, RICHARD H.—State Senator from the Twenty-first District, was born in this city and was educated at the College of the City of New York and Columbia Law School. For the last six years Mr. Mitchell has taken an active part in politics. He is, and always has been, a Democrat.

MITCHELL, WILLIAM P.—The printer, was born in this city in August, 1846. He was educated in the public schools and the College of the City of New York. From 1876 to 1880 he was Clerk of the Fourth District Court, and in 1880 he was appointed Excise Commissioner, and served for three years as President of the Board. He served an additional term of three years as Commissioner. He was a member of the Democratic State Committee from 1880 to 1884, and for twenty-two years has been Chairman of the Tenth Assembly District, Democratic General Committee. He is a member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall from the Tenth District, the Democratic and Occidental Clubs of the City of New York.

MOEBUS, AUGUST—Park Commissioner Borough of the Bronx, was born in this city in 1850. Has always been a stanch Democrat and a member of the Tammany Hall organization for twenty-six years; elected a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1890 and 1891.

MOONEY, JOHN H.—Expert Accountant for Queens County, among many other public offices of trust held by Mr. Mooney was that of Commissioner of Accounts of this city. Mr. Mooney is acknowledged to be one of the best accountants in the United States.

MOORE, WILLIAM F.—Judge Third District Municipal Court, was born in 1855; appointed to present position in 1890; elected in 1891, and again in 1893 and in 1900; is a member of Tammany Society, and Chairman of Tammany Hall General Committee in the Fifth District.

MORGAN, ROLLIN M.—Was born in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, in 1857. Came to New York in 1878, and is a graduate of the Columbia Law School. He is a prominent Democratic politician; a lawyer of marked ability; a member of many clubs, including the Commercial, the Manhattan, Democratic, and the Ohio and Tammany Societies.

MORIARTY, THADDEUS—Native of Ireland. He came to New York, however, at the age of eight years, and received his primary education in the schools of this city. In 1875 he was appointed School Trustee, representing the Seventh Ward. In 1878, Mayor Smith Ely appointed him School Commissioner. He was reapointed to the Commissionership, successively, by Mayor Hugh J. Grant and Mayor Thomas F. Gilroy. He is a member of the Tammany Society and of the Catholic and Sgamore Clubs. Mr. Moriarty was again appointed School Commissioner by Mayor Van Wyck in 1899.

MOTLEY, THORNTON N.—Mr. Motley is a well-known merchant of New York, who was born in this city in 1859. He has been a member of Tammany Hall about six years and has served on General Committees and in the organization work of the various Democratic campaigns, in which he has shown his faithfulness to party and to friends. In public office he has been Commissioner of the Bureau of Statistics, and in private life is highly esteemed.

MULQUEEN, MICHAEL J.—Born in the Seventh Ward in 1857. He attended Public School No. 2, and continued his studies at Cooper Union and the Columbia College Law School, and then read law in the office of Judge A. J. Dittenhoefer, and was admitted to the bar in 1883. In 1894 Mr. Mulqueen was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He is a Tammany Hall Democrat, a member of the General Committee of the Thirty-first Assembly District and a member of the Committee on Organization. He belongs to the Manhattan, Democratic, Catholic and Sagamore Clubs.

MUNDORF, GEORGE H.—Was born in 1860 in the City of New York. He received his early education in the public schools of this city, and later graduated from the College of the City of New York. He entered into active business life in 1887, succeeding his father in the wholesale and retail grocery business. Mr. Mundorf has always taken an active interest in politics. In 1897 he was nominated by the Democratic party for Alderman and made a good race in a district which was almost hopelessly Republican. In 1898 he was appointed Councilman, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Charles F. Allen.

MURPHY, CHARLES F.—Mr. Murphy, one of the successful Democratic leaders of the Eighteenth Assembly District, is one of the popular members of Tammany Hall. He was born in New York in 1858 and has lived in his district all his life. He was selected as leader in 1892, and was appointed Dock Commissioner in 1898.

MURPHY, COL. MICHAEL.—Ex-President of the Health Board and Police Commissioner, was born in Limerick, Ireland, in 1841. In the fall of 1866 Col. Murphy was elected to the Legislature, and after that he rapidly added political reputation to previously acquired military fame. Always popular among his constitutents, he was repeatedly re-elected, and continued to represent the lower part of the city in the Assembly and Senate for fourteen years. The Colonel has never lived out of the First Assembly District. He has been a member of Tammany Hall since the disbandment of the County Democracy. He has been an Excise Commissioner, Clerk of the First District Civil Court, and was appointed on the Health Board in 1898. He is a member of Shiloh Post, G. A. R., the Loyal Legion, President of the "Hickory Club," and is the possessor of the most highly prized "Congressional Medal of Honor" for gallantry in action.

NAGLE, DR. JOHN T.—Chief of the Bureau of Municipal Statistics, was born in 1843; appointed Assistant Sanitary Inspector in 1869; promoted to Sanitary Inspector, Deputy Register of Records and Register of Records, Bureau of Vital Statistics, in succession; appointed to present position in 1898. Dr. Nagle has been a member of Tammany Society for many years, and is Sagamore of same.

NIXON, LEWIS—Commissioner of the new East River Bridge, is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, and is one of the ablest naval constructors in the world. He is a thorough Democrat and an indefatigable worker for the party.

NORTON, SHERIDAN S.—A. B., A. M., L. L.B., was born in New York City in 1874, and educated in St. Francis Xavier College and Columbia Law School; admitted to Bar in 1896.

OAKLEY, JOHN T.—Councilman Oakley is a native of New York, having been born in this city in 1863. He received his early education in the public schools. Soon after graduating from them he entered the College of the City of New York. At an early age he entered into active business association with his father, with whom he was in partnership. In 1895 his father retired, and Mr. Oakley has since conducted the business alone. When but twenty-one years of age he was appointed index clerk in the Register's office by Register Reilly. Since then he has held the responsible positions of clerk in the law divisions of the Custom House, deputy clerk of Internal Revenue under President Cleveland's first administration, and complaint and correspondence clerk in the Department of Street Cleaning. In 1892 he was persuaded to resign this position and accept the nomination for Alderman and was elected by a majority of 3,700. In 1894 he was again nominated and elected Alderman, and in 1897 he was elected Councilman in the First District. Mr. Oakley has been leader of the Fourteenth District for the past six years.

O'BRIEN, MILES M.—School Commissioner, born in Ireland in 1851. One of Tammany Hall's most influential members for many years, and has taken a leading part in municipal affairs; member of H. B. Claflin Co., dry goods merchants. Is president of the board of School Commissioners.

O'BRIEN, JOHN P.—Graduated in 1894 from the Holy Cross College, in Worcester, Mass. with the degree of A.B., and afterward took a post-graduate course in the Georgetown University, receiving the degree of A.M., in 1895. He graduated with honors in both institutions. He later attended the Georgetown University Law School and took the degree of LL.B. in 1897. During the law school course he taught a class in the preparatory department of the University. In 1898 he was admitted to the bar and took up the practice of law in this city. Mr. O'Brien is president of the Leo Club, is a member of the Society of Georgetown Alumni in New York and Knights of Columbus. He is greatly interested in the College Men's Democratic Club, having been made an honorary vice-president of the organization. Mr. O'Brien is secretary of the Speakers' Club of the Twenty-first Assembly District and a member of the Tammany Hall General Committee.

O'BRIEN, JAMES W.—Editor and publisher, born in Ireland, 1846; resides in the Seventeenta Assembly District, and has been a member of Tammany Hall for fifteen years, serving on various committees; elected a member of Tammany Society in 1897.

O'BRIEN, MORGAN J.—Justice of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, born in New York in 1852; made Corporation Counsel of the city in 1887, and elected Justice of the Superior Court in 1888; appointed Justice of the Appellate Division, Supreme Court, in 1895.

O'DWYER, EDWARD F.—Judge of the City Court, was born in New York in 1860; elected Alderman in 1884; elected to the City Court Bench in 1895 and re-elected in 1897. Has been Vice-President of the Democratic Club for eight years.

O'GORMAN, JAMES A.—Justice of the Supreme Court, born in the City of New York on May 5, 1860; was educated in the public schools, the College of the City of New York and the Law Department of the New York University, from which institution he was graduated in May, 1882. In the same month he was admitted to the bar; was elected Justice Municipal Court in 1893, and Justice of the Supreme Court in 1899. He was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1896, and was a loyal and active supporter of the Bryan and Sewall ticket. He is a member of the Democratic Club, the Tammany Society, the Catholic Club, the New York Athletic Club and numerous fraternal and patriotic organizations.

OLENDORF, CHARLES DEWEY—Born in Otsego County in 1856 and received his early education at the Academy in Cooperstown. While there, Mr. Olendorf read law with Judge Harris and was admitted to the bar at Albany in 1879. Mr. Olendorf was appointed Assistant Counsel to the City Corporation in July 1889, and since that time has been at the head of the Condemnation Bureau of the office, where all matters pertaining to the acquisition of land for public purposes, such as public parks, school, engine, station and court house sites are transacted.

OPPENHEIM, MYRON H.—Lawyer, born in Albany, N. Y., 1859; graduate of Columbia College; has been a member of Tammany Hall and Tammany Society for a number of years and has served on General Committee most of the time; member of Democratic, Narragansett, Lambs, West End, Pontiac, Dry Goods, Wool Club, Wwight Alumni, Albany Society and many other clubs.

OSBORNE, JAMES W.—Assistant District Attorney Osborne was born in Charlotte, N. C., in 1859, is a graduate of Davidson College and of the Law School of Columbia College, New York. His experience has been great, being assistant of Delancy Nicoll, Colonel John R. Fellows, Olcott, Colonel Asa Bird Gardiner, and of the present incumbent. He is a staunch Democrat and prominent member of all Democratic clubs.

O'SULLIVAN, WILLIAM JOSEPH, M. D.—Medico-legal specialist, was born in the city of Cork, Ireland, June 1, 1858, son of William Murtagh, M. D., and Monica (O'Bryan) O'Sullivan. He was educated at St. Fin Barr's Seminary, Cork, and the universities of Edinburgh and London, and having taken both medical and veterinary degrees, in 1882 he came to the United States. In this country he continued his professional studies at Yale, entered the medical school of that university, in which he graduated with the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1888, and pursuing a course in the law school received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1890. With this equipment Dr. O'Sullivan entered upon the practice of law, first in Connecticut where he was admitted to the bar late in 1890, and subsequently in New York in 1891, where he came prominently into public notice by his masterly handling of the expert chemical testimony in the Buchanan poison case. He has been identified with Tammany Hall ever since his residence in New York, and is also a member of the Tammany Society.

OTTENDORFER, OSWALD—Born February 26, 1826, in Zwittau, County of Mehren, Austria. Educated at the University of Vienna, from which he went to Prague to study law. Came to America, where he found himself in New York friendless, penniless and without a knowledge of the English language. Subsequently he obtained a clerkship in the office of the *Staats Zeitung*, where by industry and ability he was promoted until he became its chief editor. The *Staats Zeitung* is now a stock company, and a controlling interest in the paper is held by Mr. Ottendorfer's family. He was a member of the Committee of Seventy in 1872, and at one time held the position of a member of the Board of Aldermen. He was a member of the Manhattan, City, Century, Reform, Commonwealth and Patria Clubs, the Lieder Kranz and American Geographical Societies and the chief organizer and leader of the German-American Reform Union. Died in 1900.

OWEN, EDWARD.—Was born of Southern parents in Cincinnatti, Ohio and was educated in the schools of that city and in Kenyon College. He was a gallant soldier during the war, and since his residence was established in New York has been conspicuous as Commissioner of Accounts, where his record has been of the best, and he has been retained for many terms at the urgent requests of prominent citizens. Mr. Owen is a model Democrat as well as a favorite official.

PAGE, WILLIAM H., JR.—Born in Paris, France, of American parents, then traveling abroad, in 1861; resides in the Twenty-first Assembly District, and has been a member of Tammany Hall and Tammany Society since 1897.

PATRICK, JOHN H.—Was born at Albany, and was educated in the public schools of New York. He joined the Tammany Society in 1876 and was elected Sachem for 1895, 1896 and 1897. Was also Chairman of the present Twenty-second, and former Twentieth Assembly District for over fifteen years, and now resides in the Twenty-third. Mr. Patrick has been a New York merchant for forty years, and is now President and Treasurer of the American Tool Chest Company, located at 200 West Houston street.

PENFIELD, WILLIAM WARNER—Justice of the Municipal Court of the First District of the Bronx, was born in New Rochelle in 1858. His early education was received in the public schools of his native place. He later entered Yale College, being graduated from there, with the highest honors in 1879. South Mount Vernon, now known as Wakefield, owes most of its growth to the efforts of Mr. Penfield; and the people of that place have repeatedly shown their appreciation of his worth by conferring on him all the honors in their power to give—the Presidency, the Chieftainship of the Fire Department, the responsible office of Corporation Counsel, and many others.

PENNY, WILLIAM N.—Clerk of the Court of General Sessions. In 1883 he resigned the city editorship of the *Daily News* to accept the appointment of private secretary to that worthy exponent of Democracy, John McKeon, then District Attorney, of this city. He retained this position, earning a high reputation for tact, capacity and honesty, under Mr. McKeon's successors, Messrs. Olney, Martine and Fellows. When Judge James Fitzgerald was elected to the bench of the Court of General Sessions, Mr. Penny resigned from the District Attorney's office to become Clerk of that court. Mr. Penny has always been a Democrat.

PHELAN, JAMES J.—Born in the old Ninth Ward in March, 1847. He received his early education in the public schools of this city, then attended St. Francis Xavier College. Mr. Phelan, in connection with ex-Mayor Grant, Judge D. F. McMahon, Alderman Burke, Judge Dresser and Sheriff John B. Sexton organized the Narragansett Club, which was the first club of that nature to start in this city. Mr. Phelan was elected its Treasurer.

PLATZEK, M. WARLEY—Lawyer, born in North Carolina in 1854; educated in Virginia High School and under the immediate tutelage of Professor Witherow, of South Carolina. When he reached his majority he was chosen Assessor and Treasurer of Marion, South Carolina. In 1875 he came to this city and entered the New York University Law School from which he graduated one year later with distinguished honors. He takes an active interest in politics, being a Governor of the Democratic Club of the City of New York, ex-President of the Progress Club and of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of this city, and also belongs to the Reform, Jefferson and Mohican political clubs and many prominent social clubs and benevolent associations. He was a delegate from the Tenth Senatorial District in New York City to the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York in 1894.

POWER, MAURICE J.—Aqueduct Commissioner, was born in Cork, Ireland, in 1836, appointed Justice of Police Court in 1880, serving for ten years, made United States Shipping Commissioner for the Port of New York in 1893; appointed Aqueduct Commissioner in 1897 and re-appointed by Mayor Van Wyck in 1898. Judge Power was a political protege of the late Samuel J. Tilden, and has always been held in high esteem by the organization.

PRESSINGER, AUSTIN E.—Lawyer, graduate of Columbia College Law School, member of the Democratic and Century Cycling Clubs, First Lieutenant Company E, Seventh Regiment; resides in the Twenty-first Assembly District.

RAEGENER, LOUIS C.—Was born in New York City April 29, 1856, and was educated in the New York public schools. He graduated with honors from Columbia College in 1876 and received the degree of A.M. He also graduated from the Columbia Law School in 1878, was admitted to the bar in the same year, and has practiced law ever since in New York City. His first partner was Judge P. Henry Dugro, with whom he practiced for several years. When Judge Dugro was elevated to the bench he formed a partnership with Paul Goepel, Esq., under the firm name of Goepel & Raegener, and remained a member of that firm until January 1, 1901, when he joined the firm of Dickerson & Brown, under the firm name of Dickerson, Brown & Raegener, with offices at 141 Broadway. Mr. Raegener is a member of the Tammany Society and has been for more than fifteen years. He is a member of the Democratic Club, of the New York Bar Association and of the German Club. For meritorious services rendered to the Venezuelan Republic in 1894 he received the decoration of "Busto del Libertador."

RANSOM, RASTUS S.—Lawyer; born in Mount Hawley, Ill., in 1839; closely identified with Tammany Hall since 1877; served on General Committee, Committee on Organization and other committees; ex-Surrogate County of New York.

RASINES, ANTONIO—One of the founders of the Twelfth Ward Bank and Twelfth Ward Savings Bank in Harlem; Director and Vice-President of Twelfth Ward Bank for many years, and President Savings bank, born in this city in 1847; resides in the Nineteenth Assembly District, and has been prominently identified with Tammany Hall for many years; was School Trustee Twelfth Ward for eleven years, and is now Commissioner Municipal Statistics. Member New York Athletic, Democratic and Aldine Clubs. Member Tammany Hall and Tammany Society.

RIORDAN, DANIEL J.—This thorough New Yorker was born in the Eighth District in 1869, received his education in the public schools and graduated from Manhattan College in 1890, with high honors. He was the regular Democratic nominee for Congress from the Eighth; is a member of the Democratic Club; President of the Patrick J. Divver Association and an influential and popular business man and politician.

ROESCH, GEORGE F.—Judge of the Municipal Court for the Fourth District of the Borough of Manhattan, was born in this city on June 19, 1855, and was educated in St. Nicholas' Parochial School, De La Salle Institute of the Christian Brothers and Columbia Law University, and admitted to the bar on October 30, 1876. He has always been a Tammany Hall Democrat and has been a speaker for his party in both the English and German languages since 1874. He was for three years the member of the Tammany Hall Executive Committee from his district. He was a member of Assembly in 1883, 1885, 1888 and 1889, and a Senator from 1890 to 1894. He was Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1892 and 1893.

ROBLEE, MILTON.—Was born in Saratoga, 1863. He is a graduate of the University of Syracuse. Mr. Roblee is a member of the Tammany Hall General Committee and the Democratic Club. He is the well-known proprietor of the Hotel Bartholdi.

ROGAN, JOHN H.—Was born in New York in 1863, and after receiving a public school education studied law in the office of John McKeon and the late Justice Frederick Smyth. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one years. His association with these eminent lawyers was of great value to him. As both Mr. McKeon and the late Justice Frederick Smyth were men of rare legal attainments. After Justice Smyth's elevation to the Supreme Court bench in 1895, Mr. Rogan successfully continued the latter's law business and also continued a large practice of his own. Mr. Rogan is a Democrat, having been a member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall for many years, but has never held political office. In addition to belonging to the Tammany Society, he is a member of the Society of Medical Jurisprudence, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, the Driving Club of New York and the Jefferson Club of the Sixteenth Assembly District, of which he is treasurer.

ROGERS, JOHN HENRY—Mr. Rogers was born in the City of New York in 1863. He is prominent as a lawyer and active as a Democratic politician and counselor for various societies. He has been a member of Tammany Hall since 1884, and of the Tammany Society since 1898, and has served on the General and Organization Committees and in other places and positions of important trust.

ROWE, COL. WM. H., JR.—Merchant, born in Troy, N. Y.; appointed Assistant Quartermaster-General of New York State in 1894 by Governor Flower; member of the firm of W. H. Rowe & Son, of New York, one of the largest commission firms in knit goods in the United States; one of the leading Democrats of New York State, but has never held public office.

RUPPERT, JACOB, JR.—Col. Jacob Ruppert, Jr., is one of New York's famous men; a graduate of the Columbia Grammar School; a popular politician, and Congressman from New York, and one of the most successful business men of the metropolis. He is a stalwart Democrat and staunch supporter of Tammany Hall, and is deservedly prominent in official and commercial life.

SANDERS, LEON—Born in Odessa, Russia, May 25, 1867. On being admitted to the bar of New York with honorable mention, on the 8th day of November, 1895, he resigned his clerkship in Commissioner of Jurors' office, where he had served for five years. He is well known as one of the leaders of Tammany Hall in the Twelfth Assembly District. He was this year member of the Assembly from the Twelfth Assembly District. He is a member of Perfect Ashlad Lodge, No. 604, F. and A. M.; Script Lodge, Knights of Pythias; Emanuel Pisco Lodge, I. O. B. A.; the Leon Sanders Association (which, named after him, occupies the handsomely furnished clubhouse at No. 255 East Fourth Street); Tammany Hall General Committee; Thomas Jefferson Association; a number of the Hebrew charity societies, and the Columbian Club, of which he is President.

SCANNELL, GEORGE FLORENCE—Leader Twenty-fifth Assembly District, was born in this city in 1860, and has been a prominent figure in Democratic circles since 1881, serving on many important committees; clerk in Fire Headquarters for a number of years and for past twelve years in Surrogate's office.

SCANNELL, JOHN J.—Fire Commissioner and Sachem of Tammany Society, was born in this city in 1840. Mr. Scannell is a lifelong Democrat, has been for twelve years the Tammany Hall leader of what is now the Twenty-fifth District. He was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Mulberry Bend Park by the Supreme Court, and was unanimously elected President of the Board by the other members, who were politically opposed to him. He was appointed by Mayor Gilroy to fill a vacancy in the Fire Board January 1, 1893, and shortly after resigned and was then elected by his colleagues President of the Board. Reappointed Fire Commissioner by Mayor Van Wyck in 1898 for the whole of Greater New York.

SCHUCHMAN, JOHN P.—This well-known East Side Democrat was born in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in 1851, where he graduated from the Technical College, 1868, the year he came to New York, and has been a resident of the Fourteenth Assembly District ever since. He has held many offices; is a capital lawyer and a general favorite in political and social circles. He is now Judge of the City Court.

SCOTT, FRANCIS M.—Born in the City of New York March 14, 1848. He attended the Thirteenth Street Grammar School, the well-known No. 35, and was graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1867. He then attended the Columbia College Law School, from which he was graduated with the degree of LL. B. in 1869, and was admitted to the bar, since which time he has steadily practiced his profession in this city. In 1884 he was extremely active in promoting the election of President Cleveland and Mayor William R. Grace. In 1885, Mr. Scott, for the first time accepted public office, being appointed Assistant Counsel to the Corporation by the then Corporation Counsel, Henry Lacombe. In this position he served under Mr. Lacombe, Mr. Morgan J. O'Brien and Mr. Henry R. Beekman, with all of whom his relations were close and confidential. Mr. Scott was appointed Counsel to the Corporation of the City of New York in 1895, and remained in office until his election as a Justice of the Supreme Court, in 1897.

SCULLY, P. J.—The Tammany leader in the Twelfth Assembly District since 1893, an enthusiastic and hard-working Democrat. He is a life-long member of Tammany, and has devoted the energies of his best years to hard work in its behalf. Born in New York City in 1855. Entering upon a business career, Mr. Scully connected himself with the commercial house of Augustus Taber & Brother, where he remained for nearly twenty years. At the expiration of that time he was employed at the Custom House as Assistant Cashier, a position which he resigned in 1888 to accept the Deputy Clerkship in the County Clerk's office. He was appointed City Clerk in 1898.

SHEEHY, EDWARD C.—Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments Edward C. Sheehy, is a thorough New Yorker. He was educated in the public schools of this city and after graduation entered the real estate business in which he has continued these thirty years past, and during his time has conducted some of the most important and biggest deals ever recorded on the Exchange. He was elected a member of the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall in 1871. In 1881 the judges of the Supreme Court appointed him a member of the East River Park Commission. Mr. Sheehy has served a term in the Assembly, and in 1889 Mayor Grant appointed him Commissioner of Charities and Corrections. He was appointed Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments in 1897 by Mayor Van Wyck.

SICKLES, GENERAL DANIEL E.—Famous among the many Tammany officers in the War, the veteran soldier and statesman, Daniel E. Sickles, is known to all. He is a native of New York, was educated in the City University and was admitted to the Bar in 1844. From Colonel of the "Excelsior Brigade," he rose to the rank of Brigadier, and afterward to a Major-Generalship, for conspicuous gallantry. He has since served as our Minister to Spain and president of the Tammany Monument Board for suitably marking the field of Gettysburg, which he with Tammany, did so much to win.

SIMMS, CHARLES E., JR.—City Magistrate, born in this city in 1861; appointed Assistant District Attorney in 1891; appointed Police Justice 1893; appointed City Magistrate in 1895. Member of Tammany Hall, Democratic Club, Morris and County Cycle Clubs, Indian Harbor Yacht Club; President of Associated Cycle Clubs of the City of New York.

SMITH, CLINTON H.—Is a New Yorker; was born in the Eleventh Ward, where the family has resided for nearly five generations. He resides at present in the Thirty-first Assembly District, and is a member of the General Committee, as also Assistant Secretary of the Park Board, which department he entered in 1879, at the age of eighteen, and in which he has served continuously ever since. Mr. Smith is a member of several clubs, including the Democratic and other social and political organizations.

SMITH, NELSON—Member of the New York bar, was born in Middleton, N. Y.; educated at Delaware Academy and in this city; has been a life-long member of and active worker in the interests of the Democratic party, having been elected Presidential Elector in 1892, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1894, and for four years, 1890-94, Chairman of the General Committee of Tammany Hall.

SMITH, TERRY—Lawyer, World Building, New York City, born in Houston, Tex., September 9, 1865; has been a member of Tammany Hall for past five years, and served on General Committee; graduate of Columbia College Law School; member of Association of the Bar, Western Society and a Master Mason.

SMITH, THOMAS F.—Thomas F. Smith, clerk of the City Court, was born in New York City July 24, 1865. He attended the public schools and St. Francis Xavier's and Manhattan College and was subsequently employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company as clerk and was later promoted to the position of operator and manager. Later he became a newspaper reporter, working on the *World*, *Journal* and *Tribune*, and at various times for the United Press, up to the time of its dissolution. He was appointed stenographer to the Building Department in 1892, and two years' later he was appointed to the stenographership of the Eighth District Court which position he held until April 1898, when he was made Chief Clerk of the New York City Court. Hon. Richard Croker made Mr. Smith his private secretary in 1899, subsequently making him secretary to the Tammany Society and the Tammany Hall General Committee and the Executive Committee. He was one of the founders and the first president of the Tenderloin Club, which was organized some years ago by newspaper men. He is a trustee of the New York Press Club, and a member of the following organizations: The Democratic Club, the State Stenographers' Association, the Telegraphers' Club, the Excelsior Council, C. B. L., and the Knickerbocker Council, Knights of Columbus.

SOHMER, WILLIAM.—County Clerk, born at Wurtenberg, Germany, May 26, 1852. Mr. Sohmer's entrance into the field of active politics dates back to 1889, when he was made the candidate for the Assembly in the Tenth District, being elected by a splendid majority. Mr. Sohmer served three successive terms in the Assembly. At the expiration of his third term he was made a Deputy Tax Commissioner. He held the office until 1896, when he resigned to accept the nomination for the office of Register, to which he was elected. Mr. Sohmer was Chairman of the Committee on Organization during the years 1896-97, and was also a Sachem of the Tammany Society in 1896, 1897 and 1898. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall in 1899, and was re-elected in 1900.

SPINNEY, GEORGE F.—This popular newspaper man, for years the Democratic editor of the New York *Times*, was born at Great Falls, N. H., in the forties and graduated from the High School at Lawrence, Mass. He was first with the Brooklyn *Argus*, then with the New York *Sun*. The *Times* was at its best under Mr. Spinney's management.

STEINER, Joseph H.—Was born in New York City in 1839. He attended the public schools and was in 1857 graduated from the Free Academy. After graduating he accepted a position as reporter on the New York *Sun*. In 1859 he commenced the study of law, and was graduated from the New York University as Bachelor of Laws. In 1861 he was admitted to the bar. When the war broke out he was made Captain of a company in the Ninth Regiment, New York Volunteers, and was subsequently promoted to Major in the Fifty-ninth Regiment. Judge Steiner was also a member of the Fire Department, belonging to Engine Company No. 18. He was commander of the Phil Kearney Post, G. A. R., and is still a member of that post. In 1893 he was elected civil justice in the Eighth Judicial District of the city and county of New York.

STERLING, GEORGE LOOMIS—Was born of Scotch-English ancestry, at Trumbull, Conn., 1855. Graduated from Yale, 1876; Yale Law School, 1880, and admitted to New York Bar, 1881, since which time he has practiced law in this city and been Assistant Corporation Counsel since 1885. Was identified with Codification of Laws of State of New York and with preparation of Charter of Greater New York, and in the different city administrations for fifteen years. Mr. Sterling is a member of many important clubs, the Bar Association, Yale Club, Seawanhaka, Corinthian Yacht Club, St. George's, the Democratic Club, Senaca Club, Twenty-fifth Assembly District and General Committee of Tammany Hall.

STILLINGS, WILLIAM E.—Was born March 28, 1857, in the Twenty-first Ward of the City of New York. He acquired his education in the New York public schools, at Claverack Academy, and at the Columbia College Law School. Mr. Stillings is a member of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, the New York Athletic, the Democratic Club and many other metropolitan clubs, an enthusiastic Democrat, having become a member of the Tammany Hall General Committee in 1880, and a member of the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall in 1892.

STRAUS, NATHAN—Ex-Sachem of Tammany Society, was born in Ottenburg, Germany; came to America in 1855, and settled in New York shortly after the close of the War of the Rebellion.

SULLIVAN, FLORENCE J. Was born in Ireland, August 23, 1863. He has been a resident of New York since he came to America, and he was then only three months old. He was educated in the public schools of this city. Mr. Sullivan is a first cousin of Senator Timothy D. Sullivan. He was appointed by Police Commissioner Martin January 9, 1887, to the police force where he made an exceptional record. He was named by unanimous consent for the office which he now holds, that of Superintendent of Incumbrances.

SULLIVAN, JOHN A.—This ardent and conspicuous Democrat was born at Rondout, N. Y.; graduated from the Kingston Academy; was appointed Internal Revenue Collector by President Cleveland, and was re-appointed at the expiration of his term, since which time he has been General Manager of the Security Company of Philadelphia, in the City of New York.

SULZER, WILLIAM—Born in Elizabeth, N. J., March 18, 1863. Educated in the public schools; admitted to the bar in 1884; was a member of the New York Legislature in 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894; Speaker of the Assembly in 1893; was elected to 54th Congress as a Democrat, and re-elected to the 55th Congress; was a delegate to the National Convention at Chicago, in 1896. He was educated in the public schools and at Columbia College, and was admitted to the bar as soon as he attained his majority. He quickly achieved distinction in his profession and as a political orator. He stumped the States of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut for the Democratic National Committee in 1884 and 1888. In 1889 Mr. Sulzer was elected to the State Legislature, where his force and merit speedily found recognition. Not even the most implacable foe of Tammany Hall ever aspersed his integrity, his generosity or his ability, and when the Democrats captured a majority of the Assembly in 1893, nobody was surprised to see him installed by the unanimous vote of his party colleagues in the Speaker's chair, the youngest man to whom such an honor had been accorded. Re-elected to Congress in 1898 and in 1900.

SWEETSER, W. A.—Was born in Brooklyn, near the entrance to the East River bridge. He first attended the public schools Nos. 12 and 1, St. Francis' and St. John's Colleges in Brooklyn, and later, until 1873, St. Lament's College in Montreal, Canada. Elected president of the alumni of St. John's College in 1879. After a short experience in the commercial line he studied law in Brooklyn and was admitted to the bar in 1879, and opened an office. Mr. Sweetser has always been a Democrat, but took no active part in politics until 1888, when Hon. Hugh J. Grant was elected Mayor. On July 3d, 1889, the late Hon. William H. Clark, who had been appointed counsel to the corporation, named Mr. Sweetser as one of his assistants in that office, which office he held until the Hon. Francis M. Scott was made Corporation Counsel. Mr. Sweetser, at the request of Mr. Scott, accepted the position of clerk in the proceeding to open, widen and extend Elm street. In 1898 Mr. Sweetser received the regular Democratic Tammany Hall nomination for member of Assembly in the Nineteenth Assembly District, one of the strongest Republican districts at that time in the city. Mr. Sweetser made a great fight but was beaten by Robert Mazett by a small majority. He has always been a Tammany Hall Democrat and joined that organization in 1888, becoming a member of the Narragansett Club and later the Pontiac Club in the Nineteenth District.

TIERNEY, JOHN M.—Justice of the Municipal Court for the Second District of the Borough of the Bronx, was born in the City of New York October 14, 1860, and was educated in the public schools. In 1892 Mr. Tierney for a short time was Assistant Attorney to the Fire Department, and from June, 1892, to April, 1895, was Assistant Counsel to the Department of Buildings.

TOOP, GEORGE H.—Born in England in 1836. Mr. Toop was the associate leader of Tammany Hall, with Hon. Rollin M. Morgan, of the Twenty-ninth Assembly District, and has been connected with political affairs in the up-town section for the last thirty years, though never having held any office except that of School Inspector, to which he was appointed by Mayor Grant. This position he held for five years.

TOWEN, WILLIAM C.—Now resides in the Eleventh Assembly District; was a resident of Bedford Park, Bronx Borough, and for many years has been prominently identified with every progressive movement in that locality. He is a member of the Tammany Hall Committee of the Eleventh Assembly District Committee and of many other organizations, among them the Democratic Club, Bedford Park Taxpayers' Association, the Tammany Society, Army and Navy Association, League of American Wheelmen, the Pavonia and Atlantic Yacht Clubs, and President New York State "Good Roads League."

TRUAX, CHARLES H.—Justice of the Supreme Court, was born in 1846; elected Justice Supreme Court in 1880; re-elected in 1895; was delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1894.

TURNER, WILLIAM L.—Lawyer. Born June 5, 1860, in New York City. Educated at the College of the City of New York and at the Columbia Law School. Upon graduating was admitted to the bar, and has since been engaged in the practice of his profession in this city. He was Secretary to Mayor Grace in 1885 and 1886, and Assistant Counsel to the Corporation of the City of New York from 1886 to May, 1889, and in March, 1895, was again appointed Assistant Corporation Counsel. He is identified with the New York State Democracy organization, and is a member of the University, Reform and Manhattan Clubs, the Bar Association, Society of Medical Jurisprudence, and various city college clubs and societies.

UNDERHILL, JOHN QUINCY—Representative in Congress, for the Sixteenth District, is one of the prominent Democratic leaders of the Empire State. In his district, which comprises the County of Westchester and the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Assembly Districts of New York City, he is well known and universally liked. Mr. Underhill was born in New Rochelle, Westchester County, February 19, 1848. He has served several terms as Trustee and President of the village of New Rochelle, and for ten years was President of the Board of Commissioners of Sewers and Drainage of said village. He is a member of the Larchmont Yacht Club, the New York Athletic Club, the New Rochelle Yacht Club, the Democratic Club and Manhattan Club.

UNGER, HENRY W.—Former Assistant District Attorney, born in this city in 1863; appointed Deputy Assistant District Attorney by De Lancey Nicoll in 1891; retained by Colonel Fellows and reappointed, in 1891, by Colonel Gardiner.

UNTERMYER, MAURICE.—Born at Lynchburg, Va., 1860; came to New York when nine years of age, attending Grammar School 35, then entering classes in City College and School of Mines, Columbia College. Determining on the legal profession, he graduated at Columbia Law School in 1882, and opened a branch office of the old firm of Guggenheimer & Untermyer in 125th street, where he formed many valuable connections, and became one of the organizers of the Harlem Democratic Club, exercising a leading influence in the council of Democratic organizations and being chosen delegate to National and State Conventions. The present law firm of Guggenheimer, Untermyer & Marshall is one of the leading ones of the world, conducting the legal business of largest companies and corporations. Mr. Untermyer is one of the founders of the Hebrew Infant Asylum, a member of Tammany Society, Democratic, Knickerbocker Athletic, Press, Criterion, Harlem and Progress Clubs, Geographical Society, Medical Jurisprudence, Freundschaft Societies and one of the leading Masons of the State of New York.

VAN HOESEN, GEORGE M.—Was born in the City of New York. He was graduated at the University of the City of New York and afterwards at the State and National Law School at Poughkeepsie. In 1875 was elected a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York, in which capacity he served for fourteen years. He has been President of the Holland Society, President of the Association of the Alumni of the University of the City of New York, and for three terms was Chairman of the Memorial Committee, an association of all the Grand Army of the Republic posts of the City of New York.

VAN WYCK, ROBERT A.—Judge Robert A. Van Wyck, so well-known as the first Mayor of Greater New York, is a New Yorker whose prominence is well-deserved, and who has given to Democracy the straight proofs of his devotion to the people's interests. He was graduated from the Columbia Law School at the head of his class, and, in and out of politics, he has maintained his leading position and the confidence and support of the public. He has been appropriately described as "A Democrat among Democrats, a man among men."

WAHLE, CHARLES G. F.—Lawyer Wahle was born in this city in 1866. He has been a member of Tammany Hall for twelve years and of the Tammany Society since 1889. Mr. Wahle resides in the Thirty-fifth Assembly District, and has always been an active worker in the interests of the Democratic party. He served on General and Organization Committees, and has held the office of Inspector of Public Schools and Commissioner of Accounts, 1890-1894, besides in many offices of honor and of trust.

WALTERS, RICHARD M.—Mr. Walters is a well-known piano manufacturer, who was born in New York, and is a resident of the Twenty-ninth Assembly District. He has been a prominent figure in Tammany Hall for many years. He was Chairman of the first Music Trade Convention in the United States and organized the Piano and Organ Manufacturers' Association, of which he was First Vice-President. He is now Vice-President of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Board of Trade of the City of New York.

WEEKS, BARTOW S.—Born in New York City April 25, 1861. He was educated in the public schools of this city, graduated from the New York College in 1879, and from the Columbia Law School in 1883. He was appointed to his first official position as Assistant District Attorney in January, 1891, by De Lancey Nicoll, and reappointed by Colonel Fellows. He is a member of Tammany Hall General Committee.

WELDE, CHARLES—Commissioner of Jurors, was born in Germany in 1843; is the former Tammany leader of the Thirty-first District, and has always taken a deep interest in and been an active worker for the party. He was a Police Justice for twelve years, a Sachem of Tammany Society for eighteen years, and has been a member of the Finance Committee of Tammany Hall for ten years.

WHALEN, JOHN—Sachem of Tammany Society and Corporation Counsel of the City of New York, was born in this city in 1854, and admitted to the bar in 1877; has always been an ardent Tammany Hall Democrat.

ZUCCA, ANTONIO.—Was born in Trieste, Austria, and passed his youth in Italy. Coming to America, he espoused the people's cause, becoming an active member of the General Committee of Tammany Hall. He has long been President of the United American Italian Societies, of the Latin American Democratic Union, and has held many positions of honor and of trust in this city where he is so well and favorably known.

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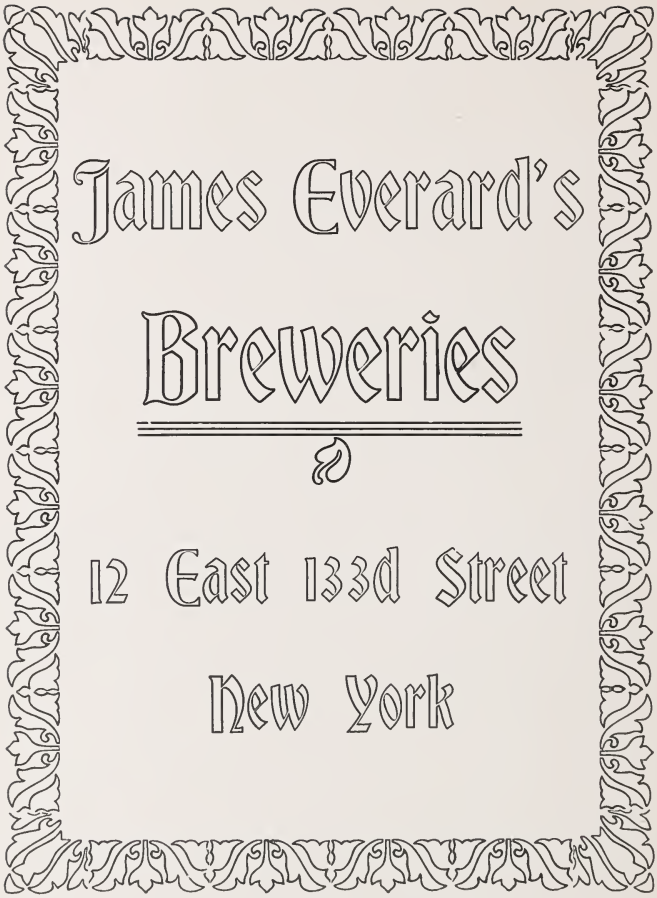
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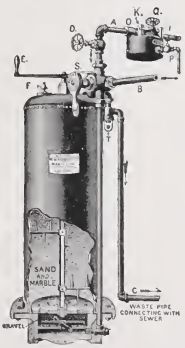
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